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LECTURES

ON

PATAÑJALI'S MĀHĀBHĀSYA

VOL. IV

(Āhnikas 10 to 14)

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P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri

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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Volume IV

ĀHNIKAS 10 to 14

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P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M. A., PH. D.,
(*Vidyāratna, Vidyānidhi, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vāṇī-trivēṇī-prayāga*)

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CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
8	27	*agnṇa-*	*aguṇa-*
34	20	निदेश-	निर्देश-
35	8	them	their
40	12	इात	इति
115	5	*asṅkhyā*	*saṅkhyā*
150	22	add *to remain* before *since*	
179	30	*Gārgayanṇāu*	*Gārgyāyaṇāu*
253	10	लाकतः	लोकतः
290	24	terminations	termination
292	15	has	having
299	19	*ma*	*mṛ*

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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Vol. IV

Tenth Āhnika

(*First Āhnika in Pāda 2 of Adhyāya 1*)

गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित् (1, 2, 1)

THERE are *two* topics dealt with here:—(1) whether *añ* and *ṇit* after *gāṅ* and *kuṭādi* are related to *ṅit* and similarly the *liṭ* after *asaṁyōga* is related to *kit*, or whether they transform themselves as *ṅit* and *kit*, or whether *ṅit* and *kit* are their *saṁjñās* or whether they are analogous to *ṅit* and *kit* [1] and (2) the need for the mention of both *ṅit* and *kit* [2].

I

ङित्किद्वचने तयोरभावादप्रसिद्धिः

With reference to the mention of *ṅit* and *kit*, there is *aprasiddhi* on account of their absence.

ङित्किद्वचने तयोरभावात् · ङकारककारयोरभावात् - ङित्वकित्वयोरप्रसिद्धिः । सता हि अभिसम्बन्धः शक्यते कर्तुम् । न चात्र ङकारककाराविती पश्यामः ।

With reference to the mention of *ṅit* and *kit*, there is *aprasiddhi* to *ṅitva* and *kitva* on account of the absence of *ṅakāra and kakāra*; for relationship can be assigned to one with another only when the latter exists; we do not see here *ṅakāra* and *kakāra* as *it*.

तद्यथा— 'चित्रगुर्देवदत्तः' इति; यस्य ता गावो भवन्ति स एव ताभिः शक्यतेऽभिसम्बन्द्धुम् ।

1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads :—*Catvārōˋtra pakṣā upakṣiptā bhāṣyē—ṅitvakitvasambandhapratipādanam, bhāvanam, saṁjñākaraṇam, atidēśaśca iti.*

2. *Kāiyaṭa reads :—Kāryārthatvād anubhandhāsaṅgasya ēkēnāiva anubandhēna guṇaniṣēdhādēḥ siddhatvād anubandhabēdōˋnarthaka iti praśnaḥ.*

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The expression '*Citraguḥ Dēvadattaḥ*' may be given as an illustration. It is only he who has such cows may be associated with them.

भाव्येते तर्हि अनेन गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन् ङिद्भवतीति, असंयोगात् लिट् किद्भवतीति ।

If so, they may be said to be so transformed from this (context) thus :—*Gāṅkuṭādibhyōऽñṇin ṅid bhavati, asaṁyōgāt liṭ kid bhavati.*

भवतीति चेदादेशप्रतिषेधः

If *bhavati* is added, there is need to prohibit them from taking the role of *ādēśa.*

भवतीति चेद् आदेशस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । ङकारककारौ इतौ आदेशौ प्राप्नुतः ।

If *bhavati* is added, there is need to mention that they are prohibited from taking the role of *ādēśa* ; (otherwise) *ṅakāra* and *kakāra* being *it* will appear as *ādēśas.*

कथं पुनः इत्संज्ञो नामादेशः स्यात् ?

How is it possible for *itsaṁjñā* to be *ādēśa ?*

किं हि वचनान्न भवति ?

Is there anything which cannot spring through injunction ?

एवं तर्हि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य आदेशा उच्यन्ते, न चात्र षष्ठीं पश्यामः ।

If so, the *ādēśas* are enjoined to those that are in the sixth case and we do not see the sixth case here.

गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः इत्येषा पञ्चमी अञ्णित् इति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयिष्यति तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति ।

The fifth case in *gāṅkuṭādibhyaḥ*, through the *paribhāṣā Tasmād ityuttarasya*, creates a sixth case from the nominative *aññit.*

संज्ञाकरणं तर्हीदम्, गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित्संज्ञो भवतीति, असंयोगाल्लिट् कित्संज्ञो भवतीति ।

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If so, this *sūtra* is *saṁjñāvidhāyaka*, so that it means that the *ñit* and *ṇit* after *gāṅkuṭādi* are *ṅit* and similarly the *liṭ* after *asaṁyōga* is *kit*.

संज्ञाकरणे क्ङिद्ग्रहणेऽसम्प्रत्ययः शब्दभेदात्

It being taken a *saṁjñāvidhi*, this *ṅit* and *kit* cannot be referred to in the *sūtra Kṅiti ca*, both being different.

संज्ञाकरणे क्ङिद्ग्रहणे असम्प्रत्ययः स्यात् ।

If it is taken as a *saṁjñāvidhāyakasūtra*, the *ṅit* and *kit* referred to here cannot be taken into account by *ṅit* and *kit* referred to in the *sūtra Kṅiti ca.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

शब्दभेदात्; अन्यो हि शब्दः क्ङिति इति, अन्यः किति इति ङिति इति च

On account of their being different words; that which is in the *sūtra Kṅiti ca* is different from that found in *Gāṅkuṭādibhyōs-ñṇin ṅit* and *Asaṁyōgālliṭ kit*, (the former being *yāugika* and the latter being *rūḍhi*).

तथा किद्ग्रहणेषु ङिद्ग्रहणेषु च अनयोरेव सम्प्रत्ययः स्यात् ।

Hence in all *sūtras* containing *kit* and *ṅit*, only those which are *yāugika kit* and *yāugika ṅit* will be taken into account.

तद्वद् अतिदेशस्तर्हि अयम् - गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन् ङिद्वद्भवति इति, असंयोगाल्लिट् किद्वद्भवति इति ।

If so, this is analogous to it, so that the *sūtras* may mean that the *añ* and *ṇit* after *gāṅkuṭādi* are analogous with *ṅit* and *liṭ* after *asaṁyōga* is analogous with *kit*.

स तर्हि वतिनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः, न ह्यन्तरेण वतिमतिदेशो गम्यते ।

If so, the *pratyaya vat* should be read. For *atidēśa* is not suggested in the absence of *vat*.

न कर्तव्यः No, it need not.

अन्तरेणापि वतिमतिदेशो गम्यते ।

Even in the absence of *vat*, analogy is suggested.

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तद्यथा – 'एष ब्रह्मदत्तः' अब्रह्मदत्तं ब्रह्मदत्त इत्याह । ते मन्यामहे, ब्रह्मदत्तवद् अयं भवतीति ।

The statement '*Ēṣa Brahmadattaḥ*' serves as an illustration. One calls a person *Brahmadatta* though he is not *Brahmadatta*. From it we infer that he is like *Brahmadatta*.

एवमिहापि अङितं ङिदित्याह, ङिद्वद् इति गम्यते, अकितं किदित्याह, किद्वदिति गम्यते ।

So here also he calls as *ṅit* that which is not *ṅit* and from it, it is inferred that it is analogous to *ṅit* and he calls as *kit* that which is not *kit* and from it, it is inferred that it is analogous to *kit*.

तद्वदतिदेशेऽकिद्विधिप्रसङ्गः

On taking it as analogy, there is chance for *akidvidhi* to operate.

तद्वदतिदेशे अकिद्विधिरपि प्राप्नोति । 'सृजिदृशोर्झल्यमकिति', सिसृक्षति दिदृक्षते, अकिल्लक्षणोऽमागमः प्राप्नोति ।

If it is taken as an analogy, there is chance for *akidvidhi* too to operate, so that the augment *am* depending upon *akit* may appear in *sisṛkṣati* and *didṛkṣatē* by the *sūtra Sṛjidṛṣōr jhalyam akiti*.

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads :–*yathā brāhmaṇavad atidēśaḥ kṣatriyasya svāśrayam yuddhādi na nivartayati, akiti iti ca paryudāsāśrayaṇāt kitpratibaddhakāryābhāvāt svāśrayō amāgamaḥ syāt.*

सिद्धं तु प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधात्

The object is achieved by taking it as *prasajyapratiṣēdha*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

कथम् ? How?

प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधात्; प्रसज्यायं प्रतिषेधः क्रियते, किति न इति

On account of its being *prasajyapratiṣēdha*; prohibition is enjoined to what would otherwise happen thus—*Kiti na*.

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सर्वत्र सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *ātmanēpada* terminations after all *sannanta* (is necessary).

सर्वेषु पक्षेषु सन्नन्ताद् आत्मनेपदं प्राप्नोति - उच्चुकुटिषति निचुकुटिषति - ङितः इत्यात्मनेपदं प्राप्नोति ; तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

The *ātmanēpada* terminations have a chance to come after *sannanta* in all cases, like *uccukuṭiṣati* and *nicukuṭiṣati*, since *ātmanēpada* terminations are enjoined by *ṅitaḥ* in the *sūtra Anudāttaṅita ātmanēpadam* (1, 3, 12) and prohibition has to be made.

सिद्धन्तु पूर्वस्य कार्यातिदेशात्

The object is achieved, since the *atidēśa* is with reference to the *kārya* of what precedes.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the desired object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

पूर्वस्य यत्कार्यं तदतिदिश्यते

It is only the *kārya* to that which precedes which is taken here through analogy.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is it necessary that this should be stated?

न हि No, it is not necessary.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it so understood without its being mentioned?

सप्तम्यर्थे वतिर्भवति

The particle *vat* is taken to have reference to the seventh case meaning.

तद्यथा मधुरायामिव मधुरावत् पाटलिपुत्र इव पाटलिपुत्रवत्, एवं ङितीव ङिद्वत किंतीव किद्वत् ।

Just as the expressions *madhurāvat* and *pāṭaliputravat* may mean "as in *Madhurā*" and "as in *Pāṭaliputra*," *ṇidvat* means "as when *ṅit* follows" and *kidvat* means "as when *kit* follows."

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II

अथ किमर्थं पृथङ्ङिक्कितौ क्रियेते, न सर्वं किदेव स्यात्, ङिदेव वा?

What for are both *ṅit* and *kit* mentioned individually without all being read as *kit* or *ṅit*?

पृथगनुबन्धत्वे प्रयोजनं वचिस्वपियजादीनामसम्प्रसारणं सार्वधातुकचङादिषु

The benefit of reading the *anubandhas* separately is the absence of *samprasāraṇa* in *vac*, *svap* and *yajādi* when they are followed by *sārvadhātuka* and *caṅādi*.

पृथगनुबन्धत्वे प्रयोजनम्, वचिस्वपियजादीनामसम्प्रसारणं सार्वधातुके चङादिषु च

The benefit of reading the *anubandhas* separately is the absence of *samprasāraṇa* in *vac*, *svap* and *yajādi* [1] when they are followed by *sārvadhātuka* and *caṅ* etc.

सार्वधातुके प्रयोजनम् - यथेह भवति सुप्तः सुप्तवान् इति, एवं स्वपितः स्वपिथः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

The benefit when *sārvadhātuka* follows is seen here :—Otherwise (*i.e.*) if *kit* is read instead of *ṅit* in this *sūtra Gāṅ-kuṭādibhyō'ñṇin ṅit*, *svap* will take *samprasāraṇa* in *svapitaḥ* and *svapithaḥ* also in the same way as it takes it in the forms *suptaḥ* and *suptavān*.

चङादिषु च प्रयोजनम् The benefit when *caṅādis* follow.

के पुनश्चङादयः? What are *caṅādis*?

चङ्ङ्नजिङ्ङ्वनिबथङ्नङः

Caṅ, *aṅ*, *najiṅ*, *ṅvanip*, *athaṅ* and *naṅ*.

चङ् - यथेह भवति शूनः शूनवान् इति एवम् अशिश्वियत् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

The benefit with reference to *caṅ* :—Otherwise the root *śvi* will take *samprasāraṇa* in the form *aśiśviyat* [2] also in the same way as it takes it in the forms *śūnaḥ* and *śūnavān*.

1. *Yajādi* is said to consist of nine roots :—*Yajir-vapir-vahiścāiva vasir-vēñ-vyēña ityapi, Hvēñ-vadī-śvayatiś cāiva yajādyāḥ syur imē nava.*
2. The root *śvi* takes *caṅ* by the *sūtra Vibhāṣā dhēṭśvyōḥ* (3, 1, 49)

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अङ् - यथेह भवति शूनः उक्तः इति, एवं अश्वत् अवोचत् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

The benefit with reference to *aṅ* :–Otherwise the roots *śvi* and *vac* will take *samprasāraṇa* in the forms *aśvat* [1] and *avōcat* [2] in the same way as in *śūnaḥ* and *uktaḥ*.

नजिङ् - यथेह भवति सुप्तः सुप्तवान् इति, एवं स्वप्नग् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

The benefit with reference to *najiṅ* :- Otherwise the root will take *samprasāraṇa* in the form *svapnak* [3] in the same way as in *suptaḥ* and *suptavān*.

ङ्वनिप् - यथेह भवति इष्टम् इष्टवान् इति एवं यज्वा अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

The benefit with reference to *ṅvanip* :—Otherwise the root *yaj* will take *samprasāraṇa* in the form *yajvā* [4] in the same way as in *iṣṭam* and *iṣṭavān*.

अथङ् - यथेह भवति उषित इति, एवम् आवसथः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

The benefit with reference to *athaṅ* :—Otherwise the root *vas* will take *samprasāraṇa* in the form *āvasathaḥ* [5] in the same way as in *uṣitaḥ*.

नङ् - यथेह भवति इष्टम् इति, एवं यज्ञः अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

The benefit with reference to *naṅ* :—Otherwise the root *yaj* will take *samprasāraṇa* in the form *yajñaḥ* [6] in the same way as in the form *iṣṭam*.

जाग्रोऽगुणविधिः

The benefit of reading the *anubandhas* separately is to have *aguṇavidhi* in the root *jāgṛ*.

जागर्तेरगुणविधिः प्रयोजनम् - यथेह भवति जागृतः जागृथ इति अङीति पर्युदासः, एवं जागरितो जागरितवान् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

1. The root *śvi* takes *aṅ* by the *sūtra Jṝ....śvibhyaś ca* (3, 1, 58)
2. The root *vac* takes *aṅ* by the *sūtra Asyati-vakti-khyātibhyōṅ*) 3,1, 52)
3. The root *svap* takes *najiṅ* by the *sūtra Svapitṛṣoṛ najiṅ* (3, 2, 172).
4. The root *yaj* takes *ṅvanip* by the *sūtra Suyajōr ṅvanip* (3, 2, 103).
5. The root *vas* takes *athaṅ* by the *uṇādi sūtra Upasargē vasēḥ* (403).
6. The root *yaj* takes *naṅ* by the *sūtra yajayāca..rakṣō naṅ* (3, 3, 90).

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The benefit is with reference to *non-guṇa-vidhi* pertaining to the root *jāgṛ*. Otherwise there will be absence of *guṇa* in *jāgaritaḥ* and *jāgaritavān* in the same way as in *jāgṛtaḥ* and *jāgṛtha* which is due to the *paryudāsa anaṅi* (found in the *sūtra-Jāgrōsvicin-ṇal-ṅitsu* (7, 3, 85).

अपर आह—जाग्रो गुणविधिः

Another reads—*Jāgrō guṇavidhiḥ* [1] which means "The benefit is to have *guṇavidhi* in the root *jāgṛ*."

जागर्तेः गुणविधिः प्रयोजनम् - यथेह भवति जागरितः जागरितवान् इति, एवं जागृतः जागृथ इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

The benefit is with reference to *guṇavidhi* in the root *jāgṛ* :– Otherwise there will be *guṇa* in the forms *jāgṛtaḥ* and *jāgṛtha* in the same way as in the forms *jāgaritaḥ* and *jāgaritavān*.

कुटादीनामिट्प्रतिषेधः Prohibition of *iṭ* after *kuṭādis*.

कुटादीनामिट्प्रतिषेधः प्रयोजनम् । यथेह भवति लूत्वा धूत्वा इति 'श्र्युकः किति' इतीट्प्रतिषेधः, एवं नुविता धुविता इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Benefit is with reference to *iṭpratiṣēdha* after *kuṭādis*. There will be chance for *iṭpratiṣēdha* in *nuvitā* and *dhuvitā*, in the same way as in *lūtvā* and *dhūtvā by the sūtra Śryukaḥ kiti* (7, 2, 11).

क्त्वायां कित्प्रतिषेधश्च *Kitpratiṣēdha* in *ktvā* too.

क्त्वायां कित्प्रतिषेधश्च प्रयोजनम्

Benefit is *kitpratiṣēdha* in *ktvā* too.

किं च इट्प्रतिषेधः ? Does *ca* denote *iṭpratiṣēdha ?*

1. It seems that the two readings *Jāgrōsgnṇavidhiḥ* and *Jāgrōguṇavidhiḥ* may be explained thus. If all *kits* are read as *ṅits*, the former reading will hold good; and if all *ṅits* are read as *kits*, the latter reading will hold good.

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नेत्याह । अदेशेऽयं चः पठितः - क्त्वायां च कित्प्रतिषेध इति । यथेह भवति देवित्वा सेवित्वा इति न क्त्वा सेट् इति कित्वप्रतिषेधः, एवं कुटित्वा पुटित्वा अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

"No," says he. The word *ca* is not read in its proper place. It should be read as *Ktvāyām ca kitpratiṣēdhaḥ*, *Kittvapratiṣēdh* may chance to happen in the forms *kuṭitvā* and *puṭitvā* in the same way as in the forms *dēvitvā* and *sēvitvā* by the *sūtra* *Na ktvā sēṭ* (1, 2, 18).

अथवा देश एवायं चः पठितः, क्त्वायां कित्प्रतिषेधश्च इट्प्रतिषेधश्च

Or this *ca* is read in its proper place in the *vārttika*, so that both *kitpratiṣēdha* and *iṭpratiṣēdha* are conveyed in *ktvā*.

कित्प्रतिषेध उदाहृतम् Example for *kitpratiṣēdha* has been given.

इट्प्रतिषेधो यथेह भवति, लूत्वा धूत्वा "श्र्युकः किति" इति, एवं नुवित्वा धुवित्वा अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Iṭpratiṣēdha may chance to happen in the forms *nuvitvā* and *dhuvitvā* in the same way as in the forms *lūtvā* and *dhūtvā* by the *sūtra* *Śryukaḥ kiti*.

स्यादेतत्प्रयोजनं यद्यस्य नियोगतः आतिदेशिकेन ङित्त्वेन औपदेशिकं कित्त्वं बाध्येत । सत्यपि तु ङित्त्वे किदेवैषः । तस्मान्नूत्वा धूत्वा इत्येव भवितव्यम् ।

This may be taken as a benefit, only if the *kittva* mentioned is set at naught by the *ṅittva* which appears through analogy. This is evidently *kit* even though it is *ṅit*. Hence *nūtvā* and *dhūtvā* alone should be taken as correct forms.

सार्वधातुकमपित् (1, 2, 4)

There are *two* topics dealt with here:—(1) The need for the mention of the word *sārvadhātukam* and (2) Whether *apit* is *paryudāsa* or *prasajyapratiṣēdha*.

I

सार्वधातुकग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What for is the mention of *sārvadhātuka*?

अपिद् इति इयत्युच्यमाने आर्द्धधातुकस्याप्यनेन अपितो ङित्त्वं प्रसज्येत, कर्ता, हर्ता इति ।

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If the word *apit* alone is read in the *sūtra*, there is chance for the analogous *ṅitva* to operate with reference to *ārddhadhātuka* also, as in *kartā*, *hartā*.

नैष दोषः This difficulty cannot arise.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानेन आर्धधातुकस्य अपितो ङित्त्वं भवतीति, यदयमार्द्धधातुकीयान् कांश्चित् ङितः करोति चङ्ङ्नजिङ्वनिबथङ्नङः ।

The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that this cannot comprehend that the *ārddhadhātukas* which are *apit* have to be treated like *ṅits*, since he reads, some *ārddhadhātukas* like *caṅ*, *aṅ*, *najiṅ*, *ṅvanip*, *athaṅ and naṅ* as *ṅit*.

सार्वधातुकेऽप्येतज्ज्ञापकं स्यात् ।

This becomes a *jñāpaka* even with reference to *sārvadhātuka*.

नेत्याह, तुल्यजातीयस्य ज्ञापकम्

No, says he, since *jñāpaka* has reference only to similar things.

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः ? Which is similar to it ?

यथाजातीयकाः चङ्ङ्नजिङ्वनिबथङ्नङः ।

Those which belong to the class of *caṅ*, *aṅ*, *najiṅ*, *ṅvanip*, *athaṅ* and *naṅ*.

कथंजातीयकाश्चैते ? To which class do they belong ?

आर्द्धधातुकीयाः They belong to the class of *ārddhadhātukas*.

यद्येतदस्ति तुल्यजातीयस्य ज्ञापकमिति चङङौ लुङ्विकरणानां ज्ञापकौ स्यातां, नजिङ् वर्तमानकालानां, ङ्वनिब् भूतकालानाम्, अथङ्शब्दो औणादिकानां, नङ्शब्दो घञर्थानाम् । तस्मात् सार्वधातुकग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ।

If it is said that one becomes *jñāpaka* to that which belongs to its class, *caṅ* and *aṅ* may become *jñāpaka* to *lugvikaraṇas*, *ṅajin* to those that denote present tense, *ṅvanip* to those that denote past tense, *athaṅ* to *āuṇādikapratyayas* and *naṅ* to those which have the meaning of *ghaṅ*. Hence there is need to mention the word *sārvadhātukam* in the *sūtra*.

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II

किं पुनरयं पर्युदासः यदन्यत्पित इति, आहोस्वित् प्रसज्य अयं प्रतिषेधः पिन्न इति?

Is this (*apit*) *paryudāsa* so that it may mean "that which is other than *pit*" or *prasajyapratiṣēdha* so that it may mean "that *pit* does not become so."

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference here?

अपिन्ङिदिति चेच्छबेकादेशप्रतिषेधः आदिवत्त्वात्

If *apit* is *ṅit*, (there is need for) the prohibition of *ēkādēśa* of *śap*, since it may be taken to be the initial member.

अपिन्ङिदिति चेत् शबेकादेशे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, च्यवन्ते प्लवन्ते [1]

If *apit* is taken to be *ṅit*, there is need to prohibit the *ēkādēśa* of *śap*, before the final of the root in *cyavantē* and *plavantē* which takes *guṇa*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आदिवत्त्वात् । पिदपितोरेकादेशोऽपित आदिवत् स्यात् । अस्त्यन्यत्पित इति कृत्वा ङित्वं प्राप्नोति ।

Since it may be taken to be the initial member. The *ēkādēśa* of *pit* and *apit* may be taken to be the initial member of *apit*. It being taken to be one other than *pit*, it may chance to get *ṅitva*.

अस्तु तर्हि प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः पिन्न इति

If so, let it be *prasajyapratiṣēdha* that *pit* does not become so.

न पिन्ङिदिति चेदुत्तमैकादेशप्रतिषेधः

It being taken that *pit* is not *ṅit*, (there is chance for) the *pratiṣēdha* in the *ēkādēśa* in the first person.

1. The roots here are *cyu* and *plu*. In the third person plural present we have *cyu* + *a* (*śap*) + *antē*. Generally *u* first takes *guṇa* by *Sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayōḥ* (7, 3, 84) and then *śap* takes *pararūpa* by the *sūtra Atō guṇē* (6, 1, 97).

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न पिन्ङिदिति चेदुत्तमैकादेशे प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति, तुदानि लिखानि [1]

If it is taken that *pit* is not *ṅit*, there is chance for *prasajya-pratiṣēdha* in the *ēkādēśa* in the first person in *tudāni* and *likhāni*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आदिवत्त्वादेव । पिदपितोरेकादेशः पित आदिवत् स्यात् । तत्र पिन्न इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ।

From the very reason of its being taken as the initial member The *ēkādēśa* of *pit* and *apit* may be taken as the inital member of *pit*. If so, the *prasajyapratiṣēdha* - *pit* - *na* chances to appear.

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु Let it be as you please.

ननु चोक्तम् उभयथापि दोषः ?

Has it not been said that it is defective in both the ways?

उभयथापि न दोषः । एकादेशः पूर्वविधौ स्थानिवद् भवतीति स्थानिवद्भावाद् व्यवधानम्

It is not defective in both the cases. Let us take that there is *sthānivadbhāva* in *ēkādēśa* with reference to *pūrvavidhi* and consequently there is interception through *sthānivadbhāva*.

असंयोगाल्लिट् कित् (1, 2, 5)

ऋदुपधेभ्यो लिटः कित्त्वं गुणाद्विप्रतिषेधेन

The *kittva* of *liṭ* after the roots having *ṛ* for the penultimate in preference to *guṇa* by *vipratiṣēdha*.

ऋदुपधेभ्यो लिटः कित्त्वं गुणाद् भवति विप्रतिषेधेन, ववृते ववृधे

Kittva operates in preference to *guṇa* in roots having *ṛ* for the penultimate, as in the forms *vavṛtē*, and *vavṛdhē* through the principle *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*.

1. In *tud+a+āni*, if *a* and *ā* take *ēkādēśa ā*, it is taken to be *pit* since *ā* is *pit* and so it may not be considered to be *ṅit* and hence *u* may take *guṇa*.

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उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered ?

न वा क्सस्यानवकाशत्वादपवादो गुणस्य इति

By the statement "*Na vā ksasya anavakāśatvād apavādō guṇasya*"[1]

विषम उपन्यासः । युक्तं तत्र यदनवकाशं कित्करणं गुणं बाधते । इह पुनरुभयं सावकाशम् = कित्करणस्य अवकाशः ईजतुः ईजुः, गुणस्य अवकाशः वर्तिता वर्द्धिता । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति ववृते ववृधे; परत्वाद् गुणः प्राप्नोति ।

The argument is not sound. It is there proper that the *kittva* which is *anavakāśa* sets at naught the *guṇa*. But here both are *sāvakāśa*; *kittva* operates in the forms *ījatuḥ* and *ījuḥ*, and *guṇa* operates in the forms *vartitā* and *vardhitā*. Here both have a chance to operate, in *vavṛtē* and *vavṛdhē*; *guṇa* has a chance to succeed since *guṇavidhāyakasūtra* is read later than *Kṅiti ca*.

इदं तर्हि उक्तम् इष्टवाची परशब्दः इति[2] । विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्भवतीति

If so, it has been said that *para* means *iṣṭa* and so, that which is *iṣṭa* operates in the case of *vipratiṣēdha*.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च (1, 2, 6)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? What for is this *sūtra* read ?

इन्धेः संयोगार्थं भवतेः पिदर्थम्

For the sake of *sāṁyōga* in *indh* and *pit* in *bhū*.

अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् This *sūtra* may as well be omitted.

कथम् ? Why ?

इन्धेश्छन्दोविषयत्वाद् भुवो वुको नित्यत्वाद् ताभ्यां किद्वचनानर्थक्यम्

Nonpurposefulness of the mention of *kit*, *indh* (—followed by *liṭ*) being connected with *Vēda* and the *vuk* of *bhū* being *nitya*.

1. This is a *vārttika* under the *sūtra Śala igupadhād aniṭaḥ ksaḥ* (3, 1, 45).
2. This is said under 1, 4, 2.

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इन्धेः छन्दोविषयो लिट् [1] The *liṭ* of *indh* is found in the *Vēdas.*

न ह्यन्तरेण छन्द इन्धेरनन्तरो लिड् लभ्यः

Except in the *Vēdas*, the *liṭ-pratyaya* is not found after the root *indh*.

आमा भाषायां भवितव्यम्

In classical Sanskrit it is followed by *ām*.

भुवो वुको नित्यत्वात् - भवतेरपि नित्यो वुक्, कृते गुणे प्राप्नोति, अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति ।

On account of the *nityatva* of *vuk* after *bhū*. The *vuk* after *bhū* is *nitya*, since it appears whether *guṇa* has a chance to come or has no chance to come.

ताभ्यां किद्वचनानर्थक्यम् - ताभ्याम् इन्धिभवतिभ्यां किद्वचनमनर्थकम्

[1]Non-purposefulness of *kidvacana* after them both. The mention of *kittva* after them - *indh* and *bhū*-serves no purpose.

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा (1, 2, 7)

किमर्थं मृडादिभ्यः परस्य क्त्वः कित्त्वमुच्यते ? न किदेव हि क्त्वा ?

Why is *kittva* enjoined to the *ktvā* after *mṛḍa* etc. ? Is not *ktvā kit* by itself ?

न क्त्वा सेट् इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति, तद्बाधनार्थम्

The *pratiṣēdha* (to *kittva*) may chance to come by the *sūtra Na ktvā seṭ* (1, 2, 18) and this is to prevent it.

यदि तर्हि मृडादिभ्यः परस्य क्त्वः कित्त्वमुच्यते, नार्थो न क्त्वा सेट् इत्यनेन कित्त्वप्रतिषेधेन

If *kittva* is enjoined to *ktvā* after *mṛḍādis*, no purpose is served by the *kittvapratiṣēdha* by the *sūtra Na ktvā seṭ*.

1. The form *īdhē* is found only in *Vedas*, where the elision of *n* can be accomplished through the *sūtra Chandsyubhayathā* (3, 4, 117), *Sārvadhātukam apit* etc.

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इदं नियमार्थं भविष्यति - मृडादिभ्य एव परस्य क्त्वः कित्त्वं भवति नान्यस्य इति

This (*sūtra*) is for the sake of *niyama*. There is *kittva* to *ktvā* only when it follows *mṛḍādis* and none else.

यदि नियमः क्रियते, इहापि तर्हि नियमान्न प्राप्नोति - लूत्वा, पूत्वा, अत्रापि अकित्त्वं प्राप्नोति ।

If *niyama* is done, it does not chance to happen here too, in *lūtvā* and *pūtvā* through the *niyama*, since otherwise there is chance for *akittva* here.

तुल्यजातीयस्य नियमः

Niyama holds good only with reference to those of the same class.

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः? Which belongs to the same class?

यथाजातीयको मृडादिभ्यः परः क्त्वा

The class to which *ktvā* after *mṛḍādis* belong.

कथञ्जातीयकश्च मृडादिभ्यः परः क्त्वा?

To which class does *ktvā* after *mṛḍādis* belong?

सेट् *Sēṭ*.

एवमप्यस्त्यत्र कश्चिद् विभाषितेट्, सोऽनिटां नियामकः स्यात्

Even then, there is here some which is *vēṭ* and they may be *niyāmaka* to *aniṭ*.

अस्तु तावद्ये[1] सेटस्तेषां ग्रहणं नियमार्थं, य इदानीं विभाषितेट् तस्य ग्रहणं विध्यर्थं भविष्यति ।

Let then the mention of those that are *sēṭ* be for the sake of *niyama* and the mention of *vēṭ* be for the sake of *vidhi*.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च, स्वपिप्रच्छयोः सन्नर्थं ग्रहणम् । किदेव हि क्त्वा

The mention of the roots *svap* and *pracch* in the *sūtra Ruda - vida - muṣa - grahi - svapi - pracchaḥ saṁśca* (1, 2, 8) is for the sake of *san*; for *ktvā* is evidently *kit*.

1. The roots *mṛḍ*, *mṛd*, *vad* and *vas* are *sēṭ* and *gudh*, *kuṣ*, and *kliṣ* are *vēṭ*.

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इको झल् (1, 2, 9)

The explanation of a *ślōkavārttika* is done here part by part and the whole *vārttika* is read at the end.

किमर्थमिकः परस्य सनः कित्त्वमुच्यते ?

What for is *kittva* enjoined to *san* which follows *ik* ?

इकः कित्त्वं गुणो मा भूत् *Kittva* to that following *ik* to prevent *guṇa*.

इकः कित्त्वं क्रियते *Kittva* is enjoined to that which follows *ik*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

गुणो माभूदिति, चिचीषति तुष्टूषति

So that *guṇa* may not set in, in the forms like *cicīṣati* and *tuṣṭūṣati*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् This benefit does not arise.

दीर्घारम्भात् By the mention of the *sūtra* enjoining lengthening.

दीर्घत्वमत्र बाधकं भविष्यति

Dīrghatva will here serve as *bādhaka*.

कृते भवेत् It (*guṇa*) will take place after it (*dīrghatva*) sets in.

कृते खलु दीर्घत्वे गुणः प्राप्नोति

Guṇa chances to appear only after the lengthening is done.

अनर्थकं तु It is then of no use.

अनर्थकमेवं सति दीर्घत्वं स्यात् If so, lengthening may be of no use.

नानर्थकम् It is not *anarthaka*.

ह्रस्वार्थम् For the sake of short vowels.

ह्रस्वानां दीर्घवचनसामर्थ्यात्[1] गुणो न भविष्यति ।

Guṇa does not set in to short vowels on account of the force of the mention of *dīrghatva* to them.

1. By the *sūtra Aj-jhana-gamām sani* 6—4—16.

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भवेद्धस्वानां दीर्घवचनसामर्थ्याद्गुणो न स्यात्

The *guṇa* which would otherwise appear, does not make its appearance on account of the force of the mention of *dīrghatva*.

दीर्घाणां तु प्रसज्यते

It chances to appear with reference to long vowels.

दीर्घाणां तु खलु गुणः प्राप्नोति

There is evidently a chance for *guṇa* to replace the long vowels.

दीर्घाणामपि दीर्घवचनसामर्थ्याद्गुणो न भविष्यति

Why! *Guṇa* does not replace long vowels also on account of the *sāmarthya* of *dīrghavacana*.

न दीर्घाणां दीर्घाः प्राप्नुवन्ति

The long vowels cannot have further lengthening.

किं कारणम्? Why?

न हि भुक्तवान् पुनर्भुङ्क्ते, कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति ।

For one who has finished his food does not take it again, nor one who has just cut his beard repeats it.

ननु च पुनः प्रवृत्तिरपि दृष्टा, भुक्तवानपि पुनर्भुङ्क्ते, कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति

Oh! repetition too is seen; one who has taken his food takes it again and one who has cut his beard does it once more.

सामर्थ्याद्धि पुनर्भाव्यम् Repetition through special advantage.

सामर्थ्याद्धि पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्भवति, भोजनविशेषात् शिल्पिविशेषाद्वा ।

Repetition takes place if there is special advantage like a new dish or a new barber.

दीर्घाणां पुनर्दीर्घत्ववचने न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमस्ति

There is no special advantage by enjoining *dīrghatva* to long vowels.

अकृतकारि खलु शास्त्रमग्निवत् - तद्यथा, अग्निर्यददग्धं तद् दहति ।

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Śāstra does, like fire, what has not been done. This is thus illustrated :—Fire burns only that which has not been burnt.

दीर्घाणामपि दीर्घत्ववचन एतत्प्रयोजनं गुणो मा भूदिति ।

This is the benefit that *guṇa* does not make its appearance for enjoining *dīrghatva* to *dīrghas*.

कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रम् पर्जन्यवत् - तद्यथा, पर्जन्यो यावदूनं पूर्णं च सर्वमभिवर्षति ।

Śāstra sometimes does, like cloud, what has been done. This may thus be illustrated that cloud rains in places where water is scarce and also where water is full.

यथैव तर्हि दीर्घत्ववचनसामर्थ्याद् गुणो न भवति, एवम् ॠदित्त्वमपि न प्राप्नोति - चिकीर्षति, जिहीर्षति ।

Just as *guṇa* does not set in on account of the *sāmarthya* of *dīrghatva-vacana*, so also *īttva* to the *aṅga* ending in *ṝ* in *cikīrṣati* and *jihīrṣati* may not make its appearance.

ॠदित्वं दीर्घसंश्रयम्

Ittva to the *aṅga* ending in *ṝ* depends upon its lengthened form.

नाकृते दीर्घे ॠदित्वं प्राप्नोति

If the vowel is not lengthened, *ittva* does not appear to *ṝdanta*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

ॠत इत्युच्यते

The word *ṝtaḥ* is read (in the *sūtra* *Ṝta id dhātoḥ* (7, 1, 100).

भवेद्ध्रस्वानां नाकृते दीर्घे ॠदित्त्वं स्यात्, दीर्घाणां तु खल्वकृतेऽपि दीर्घत्वे ॠदित्वं प्राप्नोति

Ittva to *ṝdanta* does not happen to short vowels before they are lengthened and it does happen to long vowels even when they are not lengthened.

दीर्घाणां नाकृते दीर्घे

(It does not happen) to long vowels when lengthening is not done.

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दीर्घाणामपि नाकृते दीर्घत्वे ॠदित्वं प्राप्नोति । यदा दीर्घत्वेन गुणो बाधितः, तत उत्तरकालमृदित्वं भवति ।

Ittva to *r̄danta* does not happen even to long vowels before they are lengthened. *Ittva* to *r̄danta* happens only after the *guṇa* is set at naught by *dīrghatva*.

णिलोपस्तु प्रयोजनम् Elision of *ṇi* is the benefit.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - णिलोपो यथा स्यात्, ज्ञीप्सति

This, then, is the benefit that the elision of *ṇi* may happen as in *jñīpsati*.

क्वास्ताः क्व निपतिताः? क्व कित्त्वं क्व णिलोपः? को वा अभिसम्बन्धः-यत्सति कित्त्वे णिलोपः स्यात् असति कित्त्वे न स्यात्?

Where were (the arrows) shot? Where have they fallen? Where is *kittva* and where is *ṇilōpa*? Where is this relationship that there is *ṇilōpa* when there is *kittva* and there is no *ṇilōpa* when there is no *kittva*?

NOTE :—This question arises from the fact that *kit* is not the *nimitta* of *ṇilōpa*.

एषोऽभिसम्बन्धः - यत्सति कित्त्वे सावकाशं दीर्घत्वं परत्वाण्णिलोपो बाधते, असति पुनः कित्त्वे अनवकाशं दीर्घत्वं यथैव गुणं बाधते एवं णिलोपमपि बाधेत

This is the relationship that, just as *ṇilōpa* sets at naught *dīrghatva* which is *sāvakāśa* where there is *kittva*, *dīrghatva* which is *anavakāśa* may set at naught *ṇilōpa* too as it does *guṇa* when there is no *kittva*.

तत्र णिलोपस्य अवकाशः कारणा, हारणा; दीर्घत्वस्य अवकाशः चिचीषति तुष्टूषति । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति ज्ञीप्सति; परत्वाण्णिलोपः

Kāraṇā and *hāraṇā* are the instances where *ṇilōpa* operates and *cicīṣati* and *tuṣṭūṣati* are the instances where *dīrghatva* operates. Here in *jñīpsati* both have chances to operate and *ṇilōpa* operates since the *sūtra* enjoining it is *para*.

असत्यपि कित्त्वे सावकाशं दीर्घत्वम्

Even in the absence of *kittva*, *dīrghatva* is *sāvakāśa*,

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कोऽवकाशः ? Where is it *sāvakāśa* ?

इस्भावः, निमित्सति, प्रमित्सति, मीनातिमिनोत्योर्दीर्घत्वे कृते मीग्रहणेन ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Where there is *is-bhāva*. The forms *nimitsati* and *pramitsati* may be taken to be derived both from the roots *mī* and *mi*, since the latter may be taken to be *mī* after the vowel is lengthened so that it may come under the purview of the *sūtra Sani mī-mā ... is* (7, 4, 54).

यथैव तर्ह्यसति कित्त्वे सावकाशं दीर्घत्वं परत्वाण्णिलोपो बाधते, एवं गुणोऽपि बाधते । तस्मात् कित्त्वं वक्तव्यम्

Just as *ṇilōpa*, being *para*, sets at naught *dīrghatva* which is *sāvakāśa* even in the absence of *kittva*, so also *guṇa* too may set it at naught. Therefore there is need for the mention of *kittva*.

इकः कित्त्वं गुणो मा भूद्दीर्घारम्भात्कृते भवेत् ।
अनर्थकं तु ह्रस्वार्थं दीर्घाणां तु प्रसज्यते ॥
सामर्थ्याद्धि पुनर्भाव्यमृदित्त्वं दीर्घसंश्रयम् ।
दीर्घाणां नाकृते दीर्घे णिलोपस्तु प्रयोजनम् ॥

हलन्ताच्च (1, 2, 10)

अयुक्तोऽयं निर्देशः This *sūtra* does not read well.[1]

कथं हि इको नाम हलन्तः स्यात्, अन्यस्यान्यः ?

For how is it possible for *ik* to have *hal* which is entirely different from it for its part ?

NOTE :—There is *anuvṛtti* to *ikaḥ* here from the previous *sūtra*.

कथं तर्हि निर्देशः कर्तव्यः ? If so, how should it be read ?

इग्वतो हल इति It should be read *igvatō halaḥ* which means "after the *hal* which has *ik*."

यद्येवं यियक्षति अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, it will operate with reference to *yiyakṣati* also.

1. He feels that the use of the word *anta* is not appropriate.

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NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads—*Atra samprasāraṇaprasaṅgaḥ.*

एवं तर्हि इगुपधात् हलन्तात् इति वक्ष्यामि

If so, I shall read *igupadhāt halantāt* which means "after *halanta* which has *ik* for its penultimate."

एवमपि दम्भेर्न प्राप्नोति, सूत्रं च भिद्यते

If so, the *sūtra* will not operate with reference to *dambh*, and the wording of the *sūtra* is changed.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* be as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् - अयुक्तोऽयं निर्देश इति

Oh! it has been said that the *sūtra* does not read well.

न अयुक्तः It cannot be said that it does not read well.

अयमन्तशब्दोऽस्त्येवावयववाची । तद्यथा वस्त्रान्तः वसनान्तः इति, वस्त्रावयवो वसनावयव इति गम्यते । अस्ति सामीप्ये वर्तते - तद्यथा उदकान्तं गतः इति, उदकसमीपं गत इति, गम्यते । तद्यः सामीप्ये वर्तते तस्येदं ग्रहणम्

This word *anta* has evidently the meaning of *avayava*, as in *vastrāntaḥ* and *vasanāntaḥ* which convey the meaning of *vastrāvayavaḥ* and *vasanāvayavaḥ.* It has also the meaning of *sāmīpya*, as in "*udakāntam gataḥ*" which means "*udakasamīpam gataḥ.*" Here the meaning of *sāmīpya* is taken to account.

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads :—*Evañ ca hal cāsāu antaścēti karmadhārayaḥ; nipātanācca viśēṣaṇasya paranipātaḥ.*

एवमपि दम्भेर्न सिध्यति । यो ह्यत्र इक्समीपो हल् न तस्मादुत्तरः सन्, यस्मादुत्तरः सन् नासाविक्समीपे

Even then, it cannot be applied to the *sannanta* of *dambh*; for the *hal* which is close to *ik* is not followed by *san* and that which is followed by *san* is not close to *ik.*

दम्भेर्हल्ग्रहणस्य जातिवाचकत्वात् सिद्धम्

It applies to *dambh* by taking the word *hal* to refer to *jāti.*

हल्जातिर्निर्दिश्यते, इक उत्तरा या हल्जातिरिति

Haljāti is referred to, so that it means 'the *haljāti* which follows *ik.*'

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NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :- *Varṇagrahaṇē jātigrahaṇam iti Nipāta ēkājanāṅ* (1, 1, 14) *ityatra ēkagrahaṇēna jñāpitatvāt.... Yadāpi "Tyaktabhēdā vyaktaya ēva jātiḥ" iti pakṣaḥ tadā bhēdavyudāsād abhēdāśrayaṇād iṣṭasiddhiḥ.*

NOTE :—2. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads :—*Parē tu haljātir ityasya tajjātyāśrayahalsamudāya ityarthaḥ ; tasya ca sākṣād ēva sāmīpyam, tataḥ paratvam cōpapadyatē.*

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु (1, 2, 11)

कथमिदं विज्ञायते, आत्मनेपदं यौ लिङ्सिचौ इति आहोस्विद् आत्मनेपदेषु परतो यौ लिङ्सिचौ इति

How is this interpreted, whether the *liṅ* and *sic* which are *ātmanēpada* or the *liṅ* and *sic* when followed by *ātmanēpada?*

किं चातः ? What if it is one or the other ?

यदि विज्ञायते आत्मनेपदं यौ लिङ्सिचौ इति, लिङ् विशेषितः सिज् अविशेषितः ; अथ विज्ञायते आत्मनेपदेषु परतो यौ लिङ्सिचौ इति, सिज् विशेषितः लिङ् अविशेषितः ।

If it is interpreted "*ātmanēpadam yāu liṅsicāu*", *liṅ* is restricted in its denotation and *sic* is not ; and if it is interpreted "*ātmanēpadēṣu paratō yāu liṅsicāu*", *sic* is restricted in its denotation and *liṅ* is not.

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु Let it be as you please.

अस्तु तावत् आत्मनेपदं यौ लिङ्सिचौ इति

Let it be *ātmanēpadam yāu liṅsicāu.*

ननु चोक्तम् – लिङ् विशेषितः सिज् अविशेषितः इति

Oh ! it has been said that *liṅ* is *viśēṣita* and *sic* is *aviśēṣita.*

सिच्च विशेषितः *Sic* too is restricted in its denotation.

कथम् ? How ?

आत्मनेपदं सिज् नास्तीति कृत्वा, आत्मनेपदपरे सिजि कार्यं विज्ञास्यते

Finding that *sic* is not *ātmanēpada*, operation on *sic* followed by *ātmanēpada* will take place (i.e.) *ātmanēpadam* is there taken to mean through *gāuṇīvṛtti ātmanēpadaparakam.*

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अथ वा पुनरस्तु आत्मनेपदेषु परतो यौ लिङ्सिचौ इति

Or let it be "*ātmanēpadēṣu paratō yāu liṅsicāu.*"

ननु चोक्तम् सिज् विशेषितः लिङ् अविशेषितः इति

Oh! it has been said that *sic* is *viśēṣita* and *liṅ* is *aviśēṣita.*

लिङ् च विशेषितः *Liṅ* too is *viśēṣita.*

कथम्? How?

आत्मनेपदेषु परतो लिङ् नास्तीति कृत्वा [1] आत्मनेपदे लिङि कार्यं विज्ञास्यते

Finding that there is no *liṅ* followed by *ātmanēpada*, operation on *liṅ* which is *ātmanēpada* will take place.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Avayavagatam pāurvāparyam samudāyē āśrayiṣyatē iti bhāvaḥ. Nāgēśbhaṭṭa* adds *vyapadēśivadbhāvēna ityarthaḥ.*

नैव पुनरर्थो लिङ्विशेषणेन आत्मनेपदग्रहणेन

Or there is no purpose served by taking *ātmanēpada* as the *viśēṣaṇa* of *liṅ*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

झलिति वर्तते, आत्मनेपदेषु चैव लिङ् झलादिः न परस्मैपदेषु

There is *jhal* (in the previous *sūtra*) and it has its *anuvṛtti* here; *liṅ* is *jhalādi* only in *ātmanēpada* and not in *parasmāipada.*

तदेतत् सिज्विशेषणम् आत्मनेपदग्रहणम्

Hence the word *ātmanēpada* is *viśēṣaṇa* only to *sic.*

अथ सिज्विशेषणे आत्मनेपदग्रहणे सति किं प्रयोजनम्?

If then *ātmanēpada* is *viśēṣaṇa* to *sic*, what is the benefit?

इह मा भूत् अपाक्षीत् अवाप्सीत

So that the *sūtra* may not operate in *apākṣīt* and *avāpsīt.*

नैतदस्ति, इक इति वर्तते

No, this cannot be, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *ikaḥ.*

1. The meaning of the root *kṛ* here deserves to be noted.

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एवमपि अचैषीत् अनैषीत् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, it will operate in *acāiṣīt* and *anāiṣīt*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्, हलन्तादिति वर्तते

This too is not the benefit, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *halantāt*.

एवमपि अकोषीत् अमोषीत् अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, it will operate in *akōṣīt* and *amōṣīt*.

नैतदस्ति, झलिति वर्तते

This too is not, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *jhal*.

एवमपि अभैत्सीत् अच्छैत्सीत्, अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, it will operate in *abhāitsīt* and *acchāitsīt*.

नैतदस्ति, इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः, न चैषा इग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः

This too cannot be, since *pratiṣēdha* is to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* based on *ik-paribhāṣā* and this *vṛddhi* is not *iglakṣaṇā*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् इह मा भूत् अस्राक्षीत् अद्राक्षीत् इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana*, that the *sūtra* may not operate in *asrākṣīt* and *adrākṣīt*.

किं च स्यात्? What will happen if it operates?

अकिल्लक्षणोऽमागमो न स्यात्

The *āgama am* which is based on *akit* will not appear.

स्थाघ्वोरिच्च (1, 2, 17)

इच्च कस्य तकारेत्त्वम्? Why is *icca* read with *takāra* as *it*?

कस्य हेतोरिकारस्तपरः क्रियते

For what reason is *ikāra* read *tapara*?

दीर्घो मा भूत्

So that *dīrgha* (*ikāra*) may not be the *ādēśa*.

दीर्घो मा भूदिति

So that *dīrgha* (*ikāra*) may not be the *ādēśa* (in the place of *ākāra* through *āntaratamya*).

ऋतेऽपि सः Even without it, it appears.

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अन्तरेणाप्यारम्भं सिद्धोऽत्र दीर्घो घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलीति

Even without its mention here, the *dīrgha* is accomplished here by the *sūtra* *Ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahātisām hali* (6, 4, 66).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Antarēṇāpi - ikāravidhānēna vināpītyarthaḥ ; kittvam tu kartavyam ēva, tēna vinā īttvasya prāptyabhāvāt*.

अनन्तरे प्लुतो मा भूत्

So that *pluta* may not set in, if a dissimilar *ādēśa* has a chance to come.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - अनन्तरे प्लुतो मा भूदिति

This, then, is the benefit, that *pluta* may not take its place when a dissimilar *ādēśa* has a chance to come.

कुतो नु खल्वेतत् अनन्तरार्थे आरम्भे ह्रस्वो भविष्यति न पुनः प्लुत इति ?

How is it then that, if a dissimilar *ādēśa* has a chance to come, it should be *hrasva* and not *pluta* ?

प्लुतश्च विषये स्मृतः *Pluta* is read wherever necessary.

विषये प्लुत उच्यते । यदा च स विषयो भवितव्यमेव तदा प्लुतेन

Pluta is read in places where it is necessary. Wherever such a place arises, there evidently comes the *pluta*.

इच्च कस्य तकारेत्त्वं दीर्घो मा भूदृतेऽपि सः ।
अनन्तरे प्लुतो मा भूत् प्लुतश्च विषये स्मृतः ॥

न क्त्वा सेट् (1, 2, 18)

न सेडिति कृतेऽकित्त्वे What if *akittva* is enjoined by '*Na sēṭ*'

न सेट् इत्येव सिद्धं, नार्थः क्त्वाग्रहणेन

It will do that the *sūtra* is read '*Na sēṭ*'; the mention of *ktvā* in the *sūtra* is unnecessary.

निष्ठायामपि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, गुधितः गुधितवान् इति

If so, it chances to come to the *pratyayas kta* and *ktavat*, as in *gudhitaḥ* and *gudhitavān*.

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निष्ठायामवधारणात्

By the specific mention with reference to *niṣṭhā*.

निष्ठायामवधारणान्न भविष्यति

Kittvaniṣēdha does not reach *niṣṭhā*, since there is specific mention there.

किमवधारणम्? What is the specific mention?

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः इति

The *sūtra Niṣṭhā śīṅ - svidi - midi - kṣvidi - dhṛṣaḥ* (1, 2, 19).

परोक्षायां तर्हि प्राप्नोति It then chances to come in *liṭ*.

NOTE.—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :— *Pūrvācāryaprasiddhyā parōkṣā liḍ ucyatē*.

किं च स्यात्?

What is the harm if it chances to come in *liṭ*?

पपिव पपिम, क्ङितीत्याकारलोपो न स्यात्[1]

There will be no elision of *ā* (in the root *pā*) in the forms *papiva* and *papima* by the reason of its being followed by *kit* or *ṅit*.

मा भूदेवम् इटीत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be for this reason. It happens since it is followed by *iṭ*.

इदं तर्हि जग्मिव जघ्निव क्ङितीत्युपधालोपो न स्यात्[2]

If so, there will be no elision of the penultimate in *jagmiva* and *jaghniva* by the reason of having *kit* or *ṅit* following it.

ज्ञापकान्न परोक्षायाम् It is not so in *liṭ* through *jñāpaka*.

ज्ञापकात् परोक्षायां न भविष्यति

It does not happen in *liṭ* through *jñāpaka*.

किं ज्ञापकम्? What is the *jñāpaka*?

1. The *ākāralōpa* is by the *sūtra Ātō lōpa iṭi ca* (6, 4, 64).

2. The *upadhālōpa* is by the *sūtra Gama - hana - jana - khana - ghasām lōpaḥ kṅityanaṅi* (6, 4, 98).

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सनि झल्ग्रहणं विदुः
They think that the mention of *jhal* in *san-prakaraṇa* (is the *jñāpaka*).

यदयम् इको झल् इति झल्ग्रहणं करोति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः औपदेशिकस्य कित्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधो नातिदेशिकस्य इति ।
Since the *Sūtrakāra* reads *jhal* in the *sūtra Ikō jhal* (1, 2, 9), he suggests that there is *pratiṣēdha* for the *kittva* that is read as such and not for the *kittva* that is secured through analogy.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How is it interpreted to be *jñāpaka?*

झल्ग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, झलादौ यथा स्याद् इह मा भूत् शिशयिषत इति । यदि चात्र आतिदेशिकस्यापि कित्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः स्यात् झल्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्
This is the *prayōjana* of the mention of *jhal*, that it may occur in the place like *śiśayiṣata*. If there is here *pratiṣēdha* for the *ātidēśika-kittva* too, the mention of *jhal* will be of no use.

अस्त्वत्र कित्त्वं, न सेट् इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति
Let there be *kittva* here and it will be set at naught by "*Na sēṭ*"

पश्यति तु आचार्यः औपदेशिकस्य कित्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः नातिदेशिकस्य इति, ततो झल्ग्रहणं करोति
Ācārya sees that there is *pratiṣēdha* only to *āupadēśika - kittva* and not to *ātidēśika-kittva* and hence reads *jhal*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्; उत्तरार्थमेतत् स्यात् स्थाघ्वोरिच्च, झलादौ यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् उपास्थायिषाताम्, उपास्थायिषत
This is not a *jñāpaka*; it is intended for the *sūtra Sthāghvōr icca* which follows, so that it may happen when *jhalādi* follows and it may not happen here in *upāsthāyiṣātām* and *upāsthāyiṣata*.

इत्त्वं कित्सान्नियोगेन *Ittva* in association with *kittva*.

कित्त्वसान्नियोगेन इत्त्वमुच्यते, तेनासति कित्त्वे इत्त्वं न भविष्यति ।
Ittva is enjoined in association with *kittva* and hence there will be no *ittva* where there is no *kittva*.

रेण तुल्यं सुधीवनि It is similar to *r* in *sudhīvan*.

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NOTE.—The *sūtra Vanōra ca* (4, 1, 7) enjoins both *ṅīp* and *antādēśa r* after stems ending in *van* and *Anō bahuvrīhēḥ* (4, 1, 12) serves as its *apavāda*.

तद्यथा, सुधीवा सुपीवा इति ङीप्सन्नियोगेन र उच्यमानोऽसति ङीपि न भवति

It is thus :-With reference to *sudhīvā* and *supīvā*, the *r* enjoined along with *ṅīp* does not appear in its absence.

NOTE.—Here is an instance where the *nyāya* suggested by the mention of *cha* in the *sūtra Bilvakādibhyaśchasya luk* (6, 4, 154). "*Sanniyōgaśiṣṭānām anyatarāpāyē ubhayōrapi apāyaḥ*" is applied.

अथवा अस्त्वत्र इत्त्वम् । का रूपसिद्धिः?

Or let there be *ittva*. What will be the form of the word?

वृद्धौ कृतायामायादेशो भविष्यति

If *i* takes *vṛddhi*, there will be *āyādēśa*.

वस्वर्थम् For the sake of *vasu*.

वस्वर्थं तर्हि क्त्वाग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । वसोर्ह्यौपदेशिकं कित्त्वम्

If so, *ktvā* should be read for the sake of *vasvanta*; for *vasu* has only *āupadēśika-kittva*.

किं च स्यात्? What will happen then?

पपिवान्, तस्थिवान्, कितीत्याकारलोपो न स्यात्

There will be no elision of *ākāra* in *papivān* and *tasthivān* on account of *kit*, following it.

मा भूदेवम्, इटीत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so; it will take place on account of *iṭ* following it (by the *sūtra Ātō lōpa iṭi ca*).

इदं तर्हि जग्मिवान् जघ्निवान्, क्ङितीत्युपधालोपो न स्यात्

Here then, in *jagmivān* and *jaghnivān*, there will be no elision of the penultimate on account of its being followed by *kit* or *ṅit*.

किदतिदेशात् On account of the *atidēśa* of *kittva*.

अस्त्वत्र औपदेशिकस्य कित्त्वस्य प्रतिषेधः; आतिदेशिकमत्र कित्त्वं भविष्यति

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Let there be *pratiṣēdha* for *āupadēśika-kittva*; here will stand the *ātidēśika-kittva*.

यत्र तर्हि तत्प्रतिषिध्यते अञ्जेः आजिवान् इति

Where it is set at naught as in *ājivān* derived from the root *añj*.

एवं तर्हि च्छान्दसः क्वसुः । लिट् च छन्दसि सार्वधातुकमपि भवति । तत्र सार्वधातुकमपिन्ङिद्भवतीति ङित्युपधालोपो भविष्यति

If so, we take it to be *kvasu* found in *Vēdas*. *Liṭ* in *Vēdas* is taken to be *sārvadhātuka* also. Since the *sārvadhātaka* that is *apit* does the office of *ṅit*, there is the *upadhālōpa* on account of *ṅit*, following it.

(नि)गृहीतिः *Nigṛhītiḥ*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्; इह मा भूत् निगृहीतिः, उपस्निहितिः, निकुचितिः

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that it may not happen in *nigṛhītiḥ*, *upsnihitiḥ* and *nikucitiḥ*.

तत्तर्हि क्त्वाग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

In that case mention of *ktvā* is necessary.

न कर्तव्यम् No, it need not be mentioned.

क्त्वा च विग्रहात्

Through splitting *ktvā ca* (in *Pūṅaḥ ktvā ca*) as a separate *sūtra*.

उपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते न सेट्,. निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः, मृषस्तितिक्षायाम्, उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम्; ततः पूङः, पूङश्च निष्ठा सेट् किन्न भवति । ततः क्त्वा च, क्त्वा च सेट् किन्न भवति, पूङः इति निवृत्तम्

A *sūtra* below is to be split into two. The *sūtras* are read thus:—*Na sēṭ*; *Niṣṭhā śīṅ - svidi - midi - kṣvidi - dhṛṣaḥ*; *Ud-upadhād bhāvādikarmaṇōr anyatarasyām*. Then *pūṅaḥ* alone is taken as one *sūtra* meaning the *sēṭ-niṣṭhā* of *pūṅ* is not *kit*. Then *ktvā ca* is taken as a separate *sūtra* meaning that *sēṭ-ktvā* is not *kit*. The word *pūṅaḥ* recedes.

न सेडिति कृतेऽकित्त्वे निष्ठायामवधारणात् ।
ज्ञापकान्न परोक्षायां सनि झल्ग्रहणं विदुः ॥

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इत्त्वं कित्सन्नियोगेन रेण तुल्यं सुधीवनि ।
वस्वर्थं किदतीदेशाद् गृहीतिः क्त्वा च विग्रहात् ॥

From this it is clear that, in the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra*, *ktvā* in this *sūtra* is unnecessary.

उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् (1, 2, 21)

इह कस्मान्न भवति गुधितः गुधितवान्

Why does it (the optional *kittvābhāva*) operate here, in *gudhitaḥ* and *gudhitavān*?

उदुपधाच्छपः

It is only with reference to roots which are *ud-upadha* and which belong to *śabvikaraṇa* (first conjugation).

शब्विकरणेभ्य इष्यते

It is desired only with reference to those which belong to *śabvikaraṇa*.

पूङः क्त्वा च (1, 2, 22)

पूङः क्त्वानिष्ठयोरिटि वाप्रसङ्गः सेट्प्रकरणात्

There is chance for optional (*kittva*) when *pūṅ* is followed by *iṭ* before *ktvā* and *niṣṭhāpratyayas* on account of *sēṭ-prakaraṇa*.

पूङः क्त्वानिष्ठयोरिटि विभाषा कित्त्वं प्राप्नोति

There is chance for optional *kittva* when *pūṅ* is followed by *iṭ* before *ktvā*, *kta* and *ktavat*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

सेट्प्रकरणात् । सेडिति वर्तते

On account of the *prakaraṇa* relating to *sēṭ*. There is mention of *sēṭ*.

न वा सेट्त्वस्याकिदाश्रयत्वादनिटि वा कित्त्वम्

No, since *sēṭtva* is *akidāśraya*; optional *kittva* is only with reference to *aniṭ*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

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किं कारणम् Why?

सेट्त्वस्य अकिदाश्रयत्वात्

Since *sēṭtva* is concomittant with *akittva*.

अकिदाश्रयं सेट्त्वम् । यदा अकित्त्वं तदेटा भवितव्यम्

Sēṭtva is concomittant with *akittva*. Where there is *akittva*, there *iṭ* should appear..

सेट्त्वस्य अकिदाश्रयत्वात् अनिट्येव विभाषा कित्त्वं भविष्यति

Since *sēṭtva* is concomittant with *akittva*, the optional *kittva* takes place only in *aniṭ*.

इड्विधौ पूङो ग्रहणं क्रियते । तेन वचनादिट् । सेट्प्रकरणाच्च इट्येव विभाषा कित्त्वं प्राप्नोति ।

Pūṅ is read with reference to *iṭ*; hence it takes *iṭ* after it. Since it is *sēṭprakaraṇa*, the optional *kittva* will arise only when there is *iṭ*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Tataś ca puvitvā, puvitaḥ, iti pakṣē syāt*.

इड्विधौ ह्यग्रहणम् *Non-grahaṇa* in *iḍvidhi*.

इड्विधौ हि पूङो ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यम् भवति

Pūṅ need not be read in *iḍvidhi*.

भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति *Bhāradvājīyas* read:—

नित्यमकित्त्वमिडाद्योः क्त्वाग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्

Akittva is *nitya* for *iḍādi* and mention of *ktvā* is for the later *sūtras*.

नित्यमकित्त्वमिडाद्योः क्त्वानिष्ठयोः सिद्धम्

Akittva is *nitya* with reference to *ktvā*, *kta* and *ktavat* when they are preceded by *iṭ*.

कथम्? How?

विभाषामध्येऽयं योगः क्रियते । विभाषामध्ये च ये विधयः ते नित्या भवन्ति

This *sūtra* is read between the *sūtras* which enjoin *vibhāṣā* (*i. e.* between *Udupadhād bhāvādikarmaṇōr anyatarasyām* and

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Nōpadhāt thaphāntād vā). The *vidhis* read between *vibhāṣā-sūtras* are *nitya*.

किमर्थं तर्हि क्त्वाग्रहणम् ?

What for is, then, *ktvā* read in the *sūtra*?

क्त्वाग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्

Mention of *ktvā* is intended for later *sūtras*.

उत्तरार्थं क्त्वाग्रहणं क्रियते - नोपधात् थफान्ताद्वा, वञ्चिलुञ्च्यृतश्च इति ।

Ktvā is read to be of use in the later *sūtras*—*Nō-padhāt thaphāntād vā*, *Vañciluñcyṛtaś ca*.

तृषिमृषिकृषेः काश्यपस्य (1, 2, 25)

काश्यपग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the need for the mention of *Kāśyapa*?

[1] काश्यपग्रहणं पूजार्थम्, वेत्येव हि वर्तते

Mention of *Kaśyapa* is to show reverence, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *vā* here (from the *sūtra Nōpadhāt thaphāntād vā* - 1, 2, 23).

रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः संश्च (1, 2, 26)

किमिदं रलः क्त्वासनोः कित्त्वं विधीयते आहोस्वित् प्रतिषिध्यते ?

Is *kittva* to *ktvā* and *san* after *ral* enjoined here or prohibited?

किं चातः ?

What does it matter whether it is enjoined or prohibited?

यदि विधीयते, क्त्वाग्रहणमनर्थकम्, किदेव हि क्त्वा । अथ प्रतिषिध्यते सन्ग्रहणमनर्थकम्, अकिदेव हि सन् ।

If it is enjoined, *ktvā* need not be referred to (by *ca* in the *sūtra*) since *ktvā* is evidently *kit*. If it is prohibited, mention of *san* is of no use, since *san* is evidently *akit*.

अत उत्तरं पठति The answer, he thus gives.

1. '*Kāśyapagrahaṇam pūjārtham*' is read as a *vārttika* in *Guruprasada-śāstri* edition.

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रलः क्त्वासनोः कित्त्वारम्भः [1]

Injunction of *kittva* to *ktvā* and *san* after *ral.*

रलः क्त्वासनोः कित्त्वं विधीयते

Kittva is enjoined to *ktvā* and *san* after *ral.*

ननु चोक्तम् क्त्वाग्रहणमनर्थकमिति

Oh! it has been said that, in that case, mention of *ktvā* is of no use.

नानर्थकम्, न क्त्वा सेट् इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति, तद्बाधनार्थम्

It is not *anarthaka*, since it is intended to set at naught the *pratiṣēdha* obtained by the *sūtra* "*Na ktvā sēṭ.*"

ऊकालोऽज्झस्वदीर्घप्लुतः (1, 2, 27)

There are *four* topics dealt with here :— (1) The appropriateness or otherwise of the expression *ūkālaḥ*; (2) whether the *saṁjñin* is one or three (3) the need to take the *saṁjñins* and *saṁjñās* in their respective order and (4) the chance for *dīrghas* and *plutas* to take *hrasva-saṁjñā* too.

I

अयुक्तोऽयं निर्देशः ; ऊ इत्यनेन कालः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते ; ऊ इत्ययं च वर्णः ; तत्रायुक्तं वर्णस्य कालेन सह सामानाधिकरण्यम् [2]

This expression (*ūkālaḥ*) is inappropriate ; the word *kāla* is qualified by *ū* ; *ū* is a letter and it is inappropriate there to take *varṇa* be in apposition with *kāla.*

कथं तर्हि निर्देशः कर्तव्यः? How then is it to be expressed ?

ऊकालकालः इति It is to be expressed thus :—*ūkālakālaḥ.*

किमिदम् ऊकालकाल इति What is it, *ūkālakālaḥ?*

ऊ इत्येतस्य काल ऊकालः, ऊकालः कालो यस्य स ऊकालकाल इति

Ūkālakālaḥ is a *bahuvrīhi* compound of *ūkālaḥ* and *kālaḥ,* where *ūkālaḥ* means the *kāla* (the duration of pronunciation) of *ū.*

1. *Kittvam* is another reading,
2. See similar discussion in Vol. III pp. 247 & 248.

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स तर्हि तथानिर्देशः कर्तव्यः It should be thus read then.

न कर्तव्यः No, it need not be thus read.

उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः [1]

It is to be taken that the final member of that compound is dropped.

तद्यथा – उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखमस्य उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवम् ऊकालकालः ऊकालः इति

This may be illustrated thus:—*uṣṭramukha* is the *bahuvrīhi* compound of *uṣṭramukham* and *mukham* in the sense of *uṣṭramukham iva mukham asya*; so also is the word *kharamukhaḥ*. Similarly the word *ūkālaḥ* is obtained by eliding the final member of *ūkālakālaḥ*.

अथ वा साहचर्यात् ताच्छब्द्यं भविष्यति । कालसहचरितो वर्णोऽपि काल एव [2] ।

Or it (*kāla*) is denoted by that letter (*ū*) through association. The letter too associated with *kāla* may denote *kāla*.

NOTE.—It may be noted that *Kāiyaṭa* reads under *Taparas tatkālasya* (1, 1, 70) thus:— *Varṇasahacaritāyām kriyāyām tacchabdō vartatē, sa kālō yasya iti.*

II

ह्रस्वादिषु समसङ्ख्याप्रसिद्धिर्निर्देशवैषम्यात्

Difficulty of taking the respective order with reference to *hrasva* etc. on account of uneven enumeration.

ह्रस्वादिषु समसङ्ख्यत्वस्य अप्रसिद्धिः

Difficulty in taking the respective order with reference to *hrasva* etc.

किं कारणम्? Why?

1. This is taken as a *vārttika* in *Guruprasadaśāstri's* edition; but it is not so taken in Vol. I of the same edition under the *sūtra Hayavaraṭ* in the second *āhnika*.

2. कालसहचरितो वर्णः । वर्णोऽपि काल एव । The word *varṇah* is found in addition after *kālasahacaritō* in Panduranga Javaji edition.

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निर्देशवैषम्यात् । तिस्रः सञ्ज्ञाः, एकः सञ्ज्ञी ; वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

On account of dissimilarity in enumeration. There are three *saṁjñās* and one *saṁjñin.* It is not possible to take them in the respective order, since their numbers are not the same.

सिद्धं तु समसङ्ख्यत्वात्

The object is accomplished, on account of them being of the same number.

सिद्धमेतत् This is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

समसङ्ख्यत्वात् Since they are of the same number.

कथं समसङ्ख्यत्वम्? How are they of the same number?

त्रयाणां हि विकारनिर्देशः

Mention of three with modification.

त्रयाणामयं प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशः

This is the mention of three in a combined form.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते त्रयाणामयं प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देश इति?

How is it known that this is the *praśliṣṭanirdēśa* of three?

तिसृणां संज्ञानां करणसामर्थ्यात्

On account of the *sāmarthya* of three *saṁjñas* being made.

III

यद्यपि तावत्तिसृणां संज्ञानां करणसामर्थ्याद् ज्ञायते त्रयाणामयं प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देश इति, कुतस्त्वेतद् एतेन आनुपूर्व्येण सन्निविष्टानां संज्ञा भविष्यतीति आदौ मात्रिकः ततो द्विमात्रः ततस्त्रिमात्र इति, न पुनर्मात्रिको मध्ये वा अन्ते वा स्यात्, तथा द्विमात्र आदौ वा स्यादन्ते वा, तथा त्रिमात्र आदौ वा मध्ये वा स्यात्?

Even though it may be known, from the mention of three *saṁjñās*, that it is a *praśliṣṭanirdēśa* of three, how is it known that it refers to the three in the order - letter of one *mātrā* at the beginning, letter of two *mātrās* at the middle and letter of three *mātrās* at the end and not to the letter of one *mātrā* at

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the middle or at the end, the letter of two *mātrās* at the beginning or at the end or the letter of three *mātrās* at the beginning or at the middle ?

अयं तावत् त्रिमात्रोऽशक्य आदौ वा मध्ये वा कर्तुम्

Firstly it is not possible to take the letter of three *mātrās* either at the beginning or at the middle.

कुतः ? Why ?

प्लुताश्रयो हि प्रकृतिभावः प्रसज्येत

For *prakṛtibhāva* based on *pluta* may chance to appear.

मात्रिकद्विमात्रिकयोरपि घ्यन्तं पूर्वं निपततीति मात्रिकस्य पूर्वनिपातो भविष्यति

With reference to letters of one *mātrā* and two *mātrās* too, the letter with one *mātrā* becomes the first member of the compound, since it is said (in the *sūtra Dvandvē ghi* 2, 2, 32) that the word ending in *ghi* becomes the first member.

यत्तावदुच्यते - अयं तावत् त्रिमात्रोऽशक्य आदौ मध्ये वा कर्तुं, प्लुताश्रयो हि प्रकृतिभावः प्रसज्येत इति, प्लुताश्रयः प्रकृतिभावः, प्लुतसंज्ञा चानेनैव, यदि च त्रिमात्र आदौ वा मध्ये वा स्यात् प्लुतसंज्ञैवास्य न स्यात्, कुतः प्रकृतिभावः ?

Firstly with reference to the statement that it is not possible to take the letter of three *mātrās* either at the beginning or at the middle since *prakṛtibhāva* based on *pluta* may chance to appear, *prakṛtibhāva* depends upon *pluta*, the designation *pluta* is got from this *sūtra* and if the letter with three *mātrās* is taken at the beginning or at the middle, it cannot secure the designation of *pluta*. Consequently where is the room for *prakṛtibhāva* ?

यदप्युच्यते मात्रिकद्विमात्रिकयोरपि घ्यन्तं पूर्वं निपततीति मात्रिकस्य पूर्वनिपातो भविष्यतीति, ह्रस्वाश्रया हि घिसंज्ञा, ह्रस्वसंज्ञा चानेनैव । यदि च मात्रिको मध्ये वा अन्ते वा स्यात् ह्रस्वसंज्ञैवा अस्य न स्यात्; कुतो घिसंज्ञा, कुतः पूर्वनिपातः ?

With reference to the other statement that, in a compound of a letter of one *mātrā* and a letter of two *mātrās*, the former takes the first place since that which ends in *ghi* is enjoined the first place, the designation *ghi* depends upon *hrasva* and

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the designation of *hrasva* is secured by this *sūtra*. If the letter with one *mātrā* is taken at the middle or at the end, it cannot at all get *hrasvasaṁjñā* or *pūrvanipāta ?*

एवमेषा व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते

Hence this line of argument does not well fit in.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, न मात्रिकोन्ते भवतीति यदयं "विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः" इति मात्रिकस्य प्लुतं शास्ति ।

If so, procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that the vowel of one *mātrā* cannot be at the end here, since he enjoins *plutatva* to a letter of one *mātrā* in the *sūtra* " *Vibhāṣā pṛṣṭa-prativacanē hēḥ* " (8, 2. 93).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ? How does it become *jñāpaka* ?

योऽन्ते स प्लुतसंज्ञः । यदि च मात्रिकोऽन्ते स्यात् प्लुतसंज्ञा अस्य स्यात् । तत्र हि मात्राकालस्य मात्राकालवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

That which is at the end gets the *plutasaṁjñā*. If the letter with one *mātrā* is at the end, it gets the *plutasaṁjñā*. In that case the statement that the letter with one *mātrā* replaces the letter with one *mātrā* will become unnecessary.

मध्ये तर्हि स्यादिति, अत्राप्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न मात्रिको मध्ये भवतीति, यदयम् 'अतो दीर्घो यञि,' 'सुपि च' इति दीर्घत्वं शास्ति ।

If it is said that it may be at the middle, here too the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the letter with one *mātrā* does not come in the middle, since he enjoins *dīrghatva* to letters with one *mātrā* in the *sūtras* " *Atō dīrghō yañi* " (7, 1, 3) and " *Supi ca* " (7, 3, 102).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ? How does it become *jñapaka* ?

यो मध्ये स दीर्घसंज्ञकः । यदि च मात्रिको मध्ये स्याद् दीर्घसंज्ञा अस्य स्यात् । तत्र मात्राकालस्य मात्राकालवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् ।

That which is at the middle gets the *dīrghasaṁjñā*. If the letter with one *mātrā* is at the middle, it will get the *dīrghasaṁjñā*. In that case the statement that a letter with one *mātrā* replaces the letter with one *mātrā* will become unnecessary.

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द्विमात्रस्तर्हि अन्ते स्यादिति, अत्राप्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न द्विमात्रोऽन्ते भवतीति, यदयम् ओमभ्यादाने इति द्विमात्रिकस्य प्लुतं शास्ति

If it is said that, then, the letter of two *mātrās* may be at the end, even here the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the letter with two *mātrās* does not come at the end, since he enjoins *plutatva* to the letter with twe *mālrās* in the *sūtra* "*Ōm abhyādānē*" (8, 2, 87).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How does it become *jñāpaka*?

योऽन्ते स प्लुतसंज्ञः। यदि च द्विमात्रोऽन्ते स्यात् प्लुतसंज्ञा अस्य स्यात् तत्र द्विमात्राकालस्य द्विमात्राकालवचनमनर्थकं स्यात्।

That which is at the end gets the *plutasaṁjñā*. If the letter with two *mātrās* is at the end, it will get the *plutasaṁjñā*. In that case the statement that a letter of two *mātrās* replaces a letter of two *mātrās* will become unnecessary.

मात्रिकेण चास्य पूर्वनिपातो बाधित इति कृत्वा क्वान्यत्र उत्सहते भवितुम् अन्यदतो मध्यात्।

Since its *pūrvanipātatva* is set at naught by the letter with one *mātrā*, where can it be except in the middle?

एवमेषां व्यवस्था प्रक्लृप्ता

Hence their relative position is well settled.

IV

भवेद् व्यवस्था च प्रक्लृप्ता

Yes, their relative position may be settled.

दीर्घप्लुतयोस्तु पूर्वसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

But there is chance for *dīrgha* and *pluta* to get the *pūrvasaṁjñā* (i. e.) *hrasvasaṁjñā*.

दीर्घप्लुतयोरपि पूर्वसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

There is chance for *dīrgha* and *pluta* to get the *pūrvasaṁjñā* too.

का? What?

ह्रस्वसंज्ञा - *Hrasvasaṁjñā*.

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किं कारणम्? Why?

अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति

From the fact that *aṇ* comprehends like letters.

सिद्धं तु तपरनिर्देशात्

Achievement of the object through *taparanirdēśa.*

सिद्धमेतत् This (object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

तपरनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः उदूकाल इति

There is need to read *taparatva* as *ud-ūkālaḥ*.

यद्येवम् If so

द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कालभेदात्

Taparakaraṇa being made to *drutāvṛtti*, need to add the same to *madhyamāvṛtti* and *vilambitāvṛtti* on account of the difference in the duration of pronunciation.

NOTE:—*Vṛtti* is the mode of pronouncing a letter. It may be quickly pronounced, moderately pronounced and slowly pronounced. They are respectively called *drutāvṛtti*, *madhyamāvṛtti* and *vilambitāvṛtti.*

[1] द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्; तथा मध्यमायां तपरकरणे द्रुतविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्; तथा विलम्बितायां तपरकरणे द्रुतमध्यमयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्।

If *taparakaraṇa* is made in *drutāvṛtti*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyanā* of *madhyamā* and *vilambitā*; if *taparakaraṇa* is made in *madhyamā*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *drutā* and *vilambitā*; if *taparakaraṇa* is made in *vilambitā*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *drutā* and *madhyamā*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति?

Why is not accomplished without *upasaṅkhyana*?

1. This *bhāṣya* which serves as the explanation of the *vārttika* is not found in editions.

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कालभेदात्

On account of the difference in the duration of pronunciation.

ये हि द्रुतायां वृत्तौ वर्णाः त्रिभागाधिकास्ते मध्यमायाम्; ये मध्यमायां वर्णाः त्रिभागाधिकास्ते विलम्बितायाम् ।

The letters in *madhyamāvṛtti* have thrice the duration of those in *drutāvṛtti* and those in *vilambitāvṛtti* have thrice the duration of those in *madhyamāvṛtti*.

द्रुतादिषु चोक्तम्

It has been said with reference to *drutādis*

किमुक्तम्? What has been said?

"सिद्धं त्ववस्थिता वर्णा वक्तुश्चिराचिरवचनाद् वृत्तयो विशिष्यन्ते' इति [1]

"*Siddham tu avasthitā varṇā vaktuś cirāciravacanād vṛttayō viśiṣyantē*" *iti*.

स तर्हि तपरनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः

If so, *ūkālaḥ* should be read as *ud-ūkālaḥ*.

न कर्तव्यः । इह कालग्रहणं क्रियते । यावच्च तपरकरणं तावच्च कालग्रहणम् । प्रत्येकं च कालशब्दः परिसमाप्यते - उकाल ऊकाल ऊ३काल इति

No, it need not. The word *kāla* is read here in the *sūtra*. Mention of *kāla* comprehends to the same excent as that of *taparatva*. The word *kāla* is taken with each of the three thus:—*ukālaḥ, ūkālaḥ and ū3kālaḥ*.

अथ वा एकसंज्ञाधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः । तत्रैका संज्ञा भविष्यति या परा अनवकाशा चेति । एवं हि दीर्घप्लुतयोः पूर्वसंज्ञा न भविष्यति ।

Or this *sūtra* should be read in the place where there is *adhikāra* for *ēkā saṁjñā*. In that case only one *saṁjñā* has opportunity to be applied, that which is *parā* and *anavakāśa*. Then *dīrgha* and *pluta* cannot take the *hrasvasaṁjñā* which is *pūrva*.

1. Under तपरस्तत्कालस्य (1, 1, 70). Cf. Vol. III pp 250, 251.

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अथ वा 'स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा' इत्ययं योगः प्रत्याख्यायते । तत्र यदेतत् 'अशब्दसंज्ञा इति, एतद् यया विभक्त्या निर्दिश्यमानमर्थवद्भवति तया निर्दिष्टमुत्तरत्रानुवर्तिष्यते अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः अशब्दसंज्ञायाम् इति

Or the *sūtra* '*Svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā*' is taken to be unnecessary and the word *aśabdasaṁjñā* is taken with the next *sūtra*, it being so modified as to fit in there thus:—*Aṇ udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ aśabdasaṁjñāyām.*

अथ वा ह्रस्वसंज्ञावचनसामर्थ्याद् दीर्घप्लुतयोः पूर्वसंज्ञा न भविष्यति

Or *dīrgha* and *pluta* do not take the *pūrvasaṁjñā* on account of the *sāmarthya* of the mention of *hrasvasaṁjñā.*

ननु चेदं प्रयोजनं स्यात् संज्ञया विधाने नियमं वक्ष्यामीति, ह्रस्वसंज्ञया यदुच्यते तदचः स्थाने यथा स्याद् इति ।

Oh, this may be the *prayōjana* that, if *saṁjñā* is enjoined, there is room for me to mention the *niyama* that, whichever is said through *hrasva*, it comes in the place of *ac*.

स्यादेतत् प्रयोजनं यदि किञ्चित्कराणि ह्रस्वशासनानि स्युः, यतस्तु खलु यावदज्ग्रहणं तावद् ह्रस्वग्रहणम् अतः अकिञ्चित्कराणि ह्रस्वशासनानि ।

This may be the benefit, if the *sūtras* enjoining *hrasva* are capable of doing any special function; but they do no special function, since the duration of pronouncing *hrasva* is identical with that of pronouncing *ac*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे इति वक्ष्यामीति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that I may say *Eca ik hrasvādēśē.*

अनुच्यमाने ह्येतस्मिन् त्रिर्ह्रस्वप्रदेशेषु एच इग्भवति इति वक्तव्यं स्यात् - ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य, एच इग्भवतीति; णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः, एच इग्भवतीति; ह्रस्वो हलादिः शेषः, एच इग्भवतीति ।

If this is not said, there is need to read '*Eca ig bhavati*' in three places where *hrasva* is enjoined. "*Eca ig bhavati*" should be read after "*Hrasvō napuṁsakē prātipadikasya*" (1, 2, 47); "*Eca ig bhavati*" should be read after "*Ṇāu caṅyupadhāyā hrasvaḥ*" (7, 4, 1); "*Eca ig bhavati*" should be

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read after "*Hrasvaḥ*" (7, 4, 59) which is before the *sūtra* *Halādiḥ śēṣaḥ* (7, 4, 60).

संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः

Saṁjñā is that than which nothing is lighter.

कुत एतत्? Wherefrom is this?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्

Making *saṁjñās* is to lighten the work.

लघीयश्च त्रिर्ह्रस्वप्रदेशेषु एच इग्भवतीति, न पुनः संज्ञाकरणम्

It is lighter to read "*Ēca ig bhavati*" in three places where *hrasva* is enjoined and not the making of the *saṁjñā hrasva*.

त्रिर्ह्रस्वप्रदेशेषु एच इग्भवतीति षड् ग्रहणाणि; संज्ञाकरणे पुनरष्टौ - ह्रस्वसंज्ञा कर्तव्या, त्रिर्ह्रस्वप्रदेशेषु ह्रस्वग्रहणं कर्तव्यं ह्रस्वो ह्रस्वो ह्रस्व इति, एच इग्घ्रस्वादेश इति

If '*Ēca ik*' is read in three places where *hrasva* is enjoined, there are only six words; If *saṁjñā* is made, there are eight words—(*two words*) in the *hrasva-vidhāyaka-sūtra* and the word *hrasva* is to be read in the three places where *hrasva* is enjoined and (three words in) the *sūtra Ēca ig ghrsvādēśē*.

सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद् गरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तस्यैतत् प्रयोजनं दीर्घप्लुतयोस्तु पूर्वसंज्ञा मा भूद् इति

Since he makes a heavier attempt when there is chance to accomplish it in a lighter way, it has this *prayōjana* that *dīrgha* and *pluta* do not adopt the *pūrvasaṁjñā*.

अचश्च (1, 2, 28)

Five topics are dealt with in this *sūtra*:—(1) whether this *sūtra* and *Alōsntyasya* have the relationship of *śēṣaśēṣitva* (2) whether this *sūtra* and *Alōntyasya* are in the relation of *utsargāpavāda* (3) whether wherever *hrasvatva*, *dīrghatva* and *plutatva* are enjoined, the word *acaḥ* appears (4) that this *sūtra* is suggested to be a *paribhāṣā* and (5) why the word *ac* is read in the previous *sūtra*.

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I & II

क्रिमयमलोऽन्त्यशेषः, आहोस्विद् अलोऽन्त्यापवादः

Is this *sūtra alōntyaśēṣa* or *alōntyāpavāda* (i. e.) Do this *sūtra* and the *sūtra* " *Alōntyasya* " form a whole sentence, one serving as part of another or are they antagonistic to each other?

कथं चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, कथं वा तदपवादः?

How is this *tac-chēṣa* or how is it *tad-apavāda*?

यद्येकं वाक्यं - तच्चेदं च, अलोन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, अचो ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुता अन्त्यस्येति, ततोऽयं तच्छेषः । अथ नानावाक्यम् - अलोन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, अचो ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुता अन्त्यस्यानन्त्यस्य चेति ततोऽयं तदपवादः ।

If they form one sentence that *vidhis* happen to the final *al* and the *hrasvatva*, *dīrghatva* and *plutatva* happen to the *ac* which is final, this *sūtra* is *tacchēṣa*. If they form different sentences that *vidhis* happen to the final *al* and the *hrasvatva*, *dīrghatva* and *plutatva* happen to *ac* which is both final and non-final, it is *tadapavāda*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference here?

ह्रस्वादिविधिरलोन्त्यस्येति चेद् वचिप्रच्छिशमादिप्रभृतिहनिगमिदीर्घेष्वज्ग्रहणम्

If *vidhi* relating to *hrasvādi* is taken to happen to the final *al*, the word *ac* has to be read in connection with the *dīrgha* in *vac*, *pracch*, *śam* etc., *han* and *gam*.

ह्रस्वादिविधिरलोन्त्यस्येति चेद् वचिप्रच्छिशमादिप्रभृतिहनिगमिदीर्घेष्वज्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । क्विब्[1] वचिप्रच्छ्योर्दीर्घः, अचः इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति । शमादीनां दीर्घः, अचः इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति । हनिगम्योर्दीर्घः, अचः इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि प्राप्नोति ।

If it is taken that the *vidhi* relating to *hrasva* etc. operate only to the final *al*, the word *dīrghaḥ* has to be read where *dīrghaḥ* is enjoined to *vac*, *pracch*, *śam* etc., *han* and *gam*. In the *sūtra Kvib vaci-pracchi...dīrghōsasamprasāraṇam ca* (*Uṇādi*, 225), the word *acaḥ* has to be read; for the *dīrghatva* cannot appear

1. क्विपि (Guruprasada edn.); it is omitted in Bombay edn.

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since the vowel in *vac* and *pracch* is not final. In the *sūtra Śamām aṣṭānām dīrghaḥ śyani* (7, 3, 74), the word *acaḥ* has to be read; for the *dīrghatva* cannot appear since the vowel in *śam* etc. is not final. In the *sūtra Aj-jhana-gamām sani* (6, 4, 16) enjoining *dīrghaḥ* to *han* and *gam*, the word *acaḥ* has to be read, for the *dīrghatva* cannot appear since the vowel in *han* and *gam* is not final.

अस्तु तर्हि तदपवादः If so, let it be *tad-apavāda*.

अचश्चेन्नपुंसकह्रस्वाकृत्सार्वधातुकनामिदीर्घेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः

If it is for all *ac*, prohibition of *hrasvatva* to the *ac* that is not final enjoined in the *sūtra Hrasvō napuṁsakē prātipadikasya* (1, 2, 47), prohibition of *dīrghatva* to the *ac* that is not final enjoined in the *sūtra Akṛtsārvadhātukayōr dīrghah* (7, 4. 25), and prohibition of *dīrghatva* to the *ac* that is not final enjoined in the *sūtra Nāmi* (6, 4, 3) need be made.

अचश्चेत् नपुंसकह्रस्वाकृत्सार्वधातुकनाभिदीर्घेषु अनन्त्यस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If it is for all *ac*, mention of prohibition to that which is not final with reference to the *napuṁsaka-hrasvatva* and *akṛtsārvadhātuka-nāmi-dirghatva* need be made.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य, यथेह भवति रै, अतिरि, नौ, अतिनु एवं सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

By the application of the *sūtra* '*Hrasvō napuṁsakē prātipadikasya*', the *hrasvatva* chances to appear in *suvāg* in *suvāg brāhmaṇakulam* as in *atiri* (from the stem *rāi*) and *atinu* (from the stem *nāu*).

अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः, यथेह भवति चीयते सूयते, एवं छिद्यते भिद्यते अत्रापि प्राप्नोति ।

The *dīrghatva* enjoined by the *sūtra* "*Akṛtsārvadhātukayōr dīrghaḥ*" chances to appear in *chidyatē* and *bhidyatē*, as in *cīyatē* and *sūyatē*.

नामि दीर्घः, यथेह भवति अग्नीनां वायूनाम्, एवं षण्णाम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

The *dīrghatva* enjoined by the *sūtra* "*Nāmi*" chances to appear in *ṣaṇṇām*, as in *agnīnām* and *vāyūnām*.

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नैष दोषः, नोपधायाः इत्येतन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति

This difficulty does not arise; the *sūtra Nōpadhāyāḥ* (6, 4, 7) is intended to restrict its application.

प्रकृतस्यैष नियमः स्यात्

This restricts the application of what is found in the context.

किं च प्रकृतम्? What is in the context?

नामि इति The *sūtra Nāmi* (6, 4, 3).

तेन भवेदिह नियमान्न स्यात् षण्णामिति

Then it does not happen here in *ṣaṇṇām* through the *niyama*.

अन्यते तन्यते इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

It (lengthening) will happen, then, in *anyatē* and *tanyatē*.

अथाप्येवं नियमः स्यात् नोपधाया नाम्येवेति

If so, *Nāmi* is taken as the *niyamasūtra* and *Nōpadhāyāḥ* as *vidhi-sūtra*.

एवमपि भवेदिह नियमान्न स्यात् अन्यते तन्यते इति; षण्णाम् इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति।

If so, it may not happen here in *anyatē* and *tanyatē*; but it will happen here in *ṣaṇṇām*.

अथाप्युभयतोऽयं नियमः स्यात् - नोपधाया एव नामि, नाम्येव नोपधायाः इति

If so, *niyama* may play in both ways:—*Nāmi* as *vidhisūtra* and *Nōpādhāyāḥ* as *niyamasūtra* and *Nōpadhāyāḥ* as *vidhisūtra* and *Nāmi* as *niyamasūtra*.

एवमपि भिद्यते छिद्यते, सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Still *dīrghatva* may appear in *bhidyatē* and *chidyatē* and *hrasvatva* in *suvāg brāhmaṇakulam*.

III

एवं तर्हि ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति यत्र ब्रूयात्, अचः इत्येतत् तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्।

If so, wherever it is said that *hrasvatva* occurs, *dīrghatva* occurs and *plutatva* occurs, one should understand that the word *acaḥ* presents itself there.

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किं कृतं भवति? What happens then?

द्वितीया षष्ठी प्रादुर्भाव्यते । तत्र कामचारः - गृह्यमाणेन वा अचं विशेषयितुम् अचा वा गृह्यमाणम् । यावता कामचारः, इह तावत् वचिप्रच्छिशमादिप्रभृतिहनिगमिदीर्घेषु गृह्यमाणेन अचं विशेषयिष्यामः, एतेषां दीर्घो भवति अच इति । इहेदानीं नपुंसकह्रस्वाकृत्सार्वधातुकनामिदीर्घेष्वचा गृह्यमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः । नपुंसकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति, अचः अजन्तस्येति । अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घो भवति, अचः अजन्तस्येति । नामि दीर्घो भवति, अचः अजन्तस्येति

Another word in the genetive case appears. It is our pleasure to take it as an adjunct to the already existing word in the genetive case or to take the latter qualifying *acaḥ*. Since it is our pleasure, we take the word in the genetive case to qualify *acaḥ* in the case of *vaci-pracchi-śamādiprabhṛti-hani-gamidīrgha* and in the case of *napuṁsakahrasva - akṛtsārvadhātuka - nāmi dīrgha*, we allow the word to be qualified by *acaḥ—hrasva* replacing *napuṁsaka* which is *ajanta*, *dīrgha* replacing *akṛt-sārvadhātuka* which is *ajanta* and *dīrgha* replacing the *aṅga* which is *ajanta* when followed by *nām*.

IV

इह कस्मान्न भवति द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः इति

How is it that the word *acaḥ* does not appear (in the *sūtras* *Diva āut*, *Pathimathyṛbhukṣām āt* and *Tyadādīnām aḥ*) which bring about the form *dyāuḥ*, *panthāḥ* and *saḥ*.

संज्ञया विधाने नियमः Restriction on the injunction with *saṁjñā*.

संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः

Only those which are enjoined with the appellation *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta* come under this *sūtra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is there any need for this to be said?

न हि No, certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते

How can it be understood if it is not so said?

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अजिति हि वर्तते । तत्रैवमभिसम्बन्धः करिष्यते – अचः अज् भवति ह्रस्वः, दीर्घः प्लुत इत्येवं भाव्यमान इति ।

For there is the word *ac*. It is associated thus:—The *ac* which is considered *hrasva*, *dīrgha* or *pluta* replaces the *ac*.

V

अथ पूर्वस्मिन् योगे अज्ग्रहणे सति किं प्रयोजनम्?

Now what is the benefit of the mention of *ac* in the preceding *sūtra*.

अज्ग्रहणं संयोगाच्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थम्

For the sake of avoiding the *saṁjñā* to *saṁyōga* and *ac-samudāya*.

अज्ग्रहणं क्रियते, संयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थम् अच्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थं च ।

The word *ac* is read there so that *saṁyōga* may be warded off from getting the *saṁjñā* (*hrasva*) and *ac-samudāya* (collection of vowels without intervening consonants) may be warded off from getting the *saṁjñā* (*dīrgha*).

संयोगनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्, प्रतक्ष्य प्ररक्ष्य, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् इति तुङ् मा भूदिति ।

Firstly with reference to *saṁyōga-nivṛtti*, so that the *āgama tuk* enjoined by *Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* may not appear in the words *pratakṣya* and *prarakṣya*.

अच्समुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् तितउच्छत्रं तितउच्छाया, दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा इति विभाषा तुङ् मा भूदिति ।

With reference to *ac-samudāya-nivṛtti*, so that the optional *tuk* may not appear in the forms *titau-c-chatram* and *titau-c-chāyā* by the *sūtra Dīrghāt padāntād vā*.

उच्चैरुदात्तः (1, 2, 29); नीचैरनुदात्तः (1, 2, 30)

There are *three* topics which are dealt with here:—(1) Is there *anuvṛtti* to the genetive *acaḥ* or (2) Is there *anuvṛtti* to the nominative *ac?* (3) The non-possibility of the accomplishment of the *saṁjñā - udātta* etc. or otherwise.

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I

किं षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमज्ग्रहणमनुवर्तते उताहो न?

Is *acaḥ*, the genetive singular of *ac*, taken here by *anuvṛtti* or no?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Uccāiḥ sthānē upalabhyamāna udāttasaṁjñaḥ, sa ca acaḥ sthānē iti.*

किं चातः? What does it matter if it is done or not?

यद्यनुवर्तते "हल्स्वरप्राप्तौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद् भवति" इत्येषा परिभाषा न प्रकल्पते। कथं हलो नाम स्वरप्राप्तिः स्यात्?

If it is taken here by *anuvṛtti*, the *paribhāṣā* '*Halsvara-prāptāu vyañjanam avidyamānavad bhavati*' does not fit in. Where is the chance for *hal* to get *svara* (the high tone, the low tone etc.)?

एवं तर्हि निवृत्तम्। बह्वन्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि।

If so, it is not taken here. There are many benefits reaped by adopting this *paribhāṣā*.

II

अथ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमज्ग्रहणमनुवर्तते, उताहो न?

Then, is there *anuvṛtti* to *ac*, the nominative singular, or no?

किं चार्थोऽनुवृत्त्या?

Is there any advantage if there is *anuvṛtti*?

बाढमर्थः, यद्येते व्यञ्जनस्यापि गुणा लक्ष्यन्ते।

Certainly, there is advantage if these *guṇas udāttatva* etc. are seen in *vyañjanas* (consonants) also.

ननु च प्रत्यक्षमुपलभ्यन्ते - इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा

Oh, it is seen definitely in the expression *Iṣē tvōrjē tvā* (the commencing expression of the *Yajurvēda*).

नैते व्यञ्जनस्य गुणाः, किं त्वच एव। तत्सामीप्यात्तु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते। तद्यथा - द्वयोः रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते। बदरपिटके रिक्तको लोहकंसः तद्गुण उपलभ्यते।

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These are not the qualities of consonants, but only of vowels. Through their proximity of the latter, the consonant too appears to have it. This may be illustrated thus:—The white cloth pressed between two red cloths gets their colour. Well polished mirror kept in a box containing *badara* fruits seems to get their colour.

कुतों नु खल्वेतत्, अच्च एते गुणाः स्युः तत्सामीप्यात्तु व्यञ्जनमपि तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते, न पुनर्व्यञ्जनस्यैते गुणाः स्युस्तत्सामीप्यात्त्वजपि तद्गुण उपलभ्येत इति ।

How is it that these are the *guṇas* of vowels and through their proximity consonant too gets them and not that they are the *guṇas* of consonants and vowel gets them through its proximity with them?

अन्तरेणापि व्यञ्जनम् अच एवैते गुणा लक्ष्यन्ते, न पुनरन्तरेणाचं व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमपि भवति

These qualities are seen independently only in vowel even without its association with a consonant and without the help of a vowel, the pronunciation too of a consonant is not possible.

अन्वर्थं खल्वपि निर्वचनम्, स्वयं राजन्त इति स्वराः, अन्वग्भवति व्यञ्जनम् इति

The derivation too (of the two words) is significant of the meaning:—The word *svarās* is derived thus, *svayam rājantē* (those which shine by themselves) and *vyañjana* is derived from the root *añj* with *vi* which means that which follows.

NOTE:—It is worthy of note that the words *vyañjana* and consonant are semantically similar.

III

उच्चनीचस्यानवस्थितत्वात् संज्ञाप्रसिद्धिः

The non-accomplishment of the *saṁjñās* on account of the non-definiteness of *uccatva* and *nīcatva*.

इदमुच्चनीचमनवस्थितपदार्थकम्, तदेव हि कञ्चित् प्रति उच्चैर्भवति, कञ्चित् प्रति नीचैः । एवं हि कश्चित् कञ्चिद् अधीयानमाह 'किमुच्चैः रोरूयसे शनैर्वर्तताम्'; तमेव तथाधीयानमपर आह 'किमन्तर्दन्तकेनाधीषे उच्चैर्वर्तताम्' इति ।

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The words *uccāiḥ* and *nīcāiḥ* are not definite in their connotation; the same is considered *uccāiḥ* by one and *nīcāiḥ* by another. One tells another who is studying, "Why are you rattling? Read slowly" and another tells the same person reading in the same way, "Why are you swallowing words? Read loudly."

एवम् उच्चनीचमनवस्थितपदार्थकम्, तस्यानवस्थितत्वात् संज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः

It is thus that the words *uccāiḥ* and *nīcāiḥ* are not definite in their connotation. Since it is not definite, there is the non-accomplishment of the *saṁjñā*.

एवं तर्हि लक्षणं करिष्यते - आयामो दारुण्यम् अणुता खस्येति उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य - आयामो गात्राणां निग्रहः, दारुण्यं स्वरस्य दारुणता रूक्षता, अणुता खस्य कण्ठस्य संवृतता, उच्चैःकराणि शब्दस्य । अन्ववसर्गो मार्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य - अन्ववसर्गो गात्राणां शिथिलता, मार्दवं स्वरस्य मृदुता स्निग्धता, उरुता खस्य महत्ता कण्ठस्येति नीचैःकराणि शब्दस्य ।

If so, the definition is made in the following manner—the factors which produce *uccāistva* to *śabda* are *āyāma*, *dāruṇyam* and *aṇutā* of *kha*, where *āyāma* means contraction of limbs, *dāruṇya* of *svara* means harshness and *khasya aṇutā* means the narrowness of the opening through which air passes and the factors which produce *nīcāistva* to *śabda* are *anvavasarga*, *mārdavam* and *urutā* of *kha*, where *anvavasarga* means the relaxation of limbs, *mārdavam* of *svara* means sweetness and *khasya urutā* means width of opening of the air passage.

एतदप्यनैकान्तिकम्, यद्धि अल्पप्राणस्य सर्वोच्चैः तद्धि महाप्राणस्य सर्वनीचैः

This too is not of steady nature, since what is considered to be very loud from the standpoint of a weak man may be considered to be very low from the standpoint of a strong man.

सिद्धं तु समानप्रक्रमवचनात्

It is achieved on account of having the articulation in the same place of the vocal organs.

सिद्धमेतत् It is achieved.

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कथम्? How?

समाने प्रक्रमे इति वक्तव्यम्

It is to be said that articulation is in the same place of the vocal organ.

कः पुनः प्रक्रमः? What is, then, *prakrama?*

उरः, कण्ठः, शिरः इति Chest, neck, head etc.

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Ēvañ ca uccāir ityanēna ūrdhvabhāgō gṛhyatē, nīcāir iti adharabhāgaḥ.*

NOTE :—2. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* explains *ūrdhvabhāgēna* by *ūrdhvabhāghāvacchinna-vāyusaṁyōgēna* and adds *śiraḥpadam tālvādīnām upalakṣaṇam.*

समाहारः स्वरितः (1, 2, 31)

समाहारः स्वरित इत्युच्यते; कस्य समाहारः स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति?

The *sūtra* is read *Samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ*; whose *samāhāra* (assemblage) takes *svaritasaṁjñā?*

अचोरित्याह "Of vowels," says he.

समाहारोऽचोश्चेन्नाभावात्

If it is taken to be the *samāhāra* of two vowels, it cannot be, since it does not exist.

समाहारोऽचोश्चेत् तन्न

If it is the *samāhāra* of two vowels, it cannot be.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अभावात्; न ह्यचोः समाहारोऽस्ति

Since it does not exist; for there is no *samāhāra* of two vowels.

[1] नन्वयमस्ति गाङ्गेनूप इति?

Oh! there is this (*ē*) in *Gāṅgēnūpaḥ.*

NOTE :—*Ē* in *gāṅgē* is *udātta* and *a* of *anūpa* is *anudātta* and the *ēkādēśa ē* is *svarita.*

1. ननु चायमस्ति is another reading.

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नैपः अचोः समाहारः, अन्योऽयमुदात्तानुदात्तयोः स्थाने एक आदिश्यते

This is not the *samāhāra* of two vowels, but a *svarita ē* comes as *ādēśa* in the place of *udātta ē* and *anudātta a*.

एवं तर्हि गुणयोः

If so, the *samāhāra* of two *guṇas* takes the *svarita-saṁjñā*.

गुणयोश्चेन्नाच्प्रकरणात्

If it is of two *guṇas*, it is not since the *prakaraṇa* deals with *ac*.

गुणयोः समाहार इति चेत्, तन्न

If it is said that it is the *samāhāra* of two *guṇas*, it is not.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अच्प्रकरणात् Since the *prakaraṇa* deals with *ac*.

अजिति वर्तते

The word *ac* is taken here by *anuvṛtti* (with its *lakṣyārtha udāttānudāttau*).

सिद्धं त्वच्समुदायस्याभावात्तद्गुणसम्प्रत्ययः

This is achieved, combination of *guṇas* being taken into account on account of the non-existence of the assemblage of vowels.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the desired object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

अच्समुदायो नास्तीति कृत्वा तद्गुणस्याचः समाहारगुणस्य सम्प्रत्ययो भविष्यति

Taking that there is no *ac-samudāya*, there is the *pratīti* of the *samāhāra-guṇa* of the vowel which has both.

कथं पुनः समाहार इत्यनेन अच् शक्यः प्रतिनिर्देष्टुम्?

How is it possible for *samāhāra* to take *ac* for its *viśēṣya*?

मतुब्लोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । तद्यथा - पुष्पका एषां ते पुष्पकाः, कालका एषां ते कालकाः इति; एवं समाहारवान् समाहारः

It should be taken that the suffix *matup* has elided here. Just as the words *puṣpakāḥ* and *kālakāḥ* are used to denote

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those having them, so also the word *samāhāra* is used to denote that which possesses *samāhāra*.

अथ वा अकारो मत्वर्थीयः, तद्यथा तुन्दः घाटः इति

Or the final *a* (in *samāhāra*) has the meaning of *matup*, as in *tundaḥ* (one having *tundi* or pot-belly) and *ghāṭaḥ* (one having *ghāṭā* or the back of the neck).[1]

यद्येवं त्रैस्वर्यं न प्रकल्पते

In that case the word *trāisvaryam* cannot have a suitable connotation.

तत्र को दोषः? What is the difficulty there?

त्रैस्वर्येणाधीमहे इत्येतन्नोपपद्यते

The sentence '*Trāisvaryēṇa adhīmahē*' (we read with *trāisvarya*) does not have proper meaning.

नैतद् गुणापेक्षम् This does not refer to the *guṇas*.

किं तर्हि? To what does it then refer?

अजपेक्षमेतत् It refers to *ac*.

त्रैस्वर्येणाधीमहे - त्रिप्रकारैरज्भिरधीमहे, कैश्चिदुदात्तगुणैः कैश्चिदनुदात्तगुणैः कैश्चिदुभयगुणैः । तद्यथा - शुक्लगुणः शुक्लः, कृष्णगुणः कृष्णः, य इदानीमुभयगुणः स तृतीयामाख्यां लभते कल्माष इति वा, सारङ्ग इति वा । एवमिहापि उदात्त उदात्तगुणः, अनुदात्तोऽनुदात्तगुणः, य इदानीमुभयगुणः स तृतीयामाख्यां लभते स्वरित इति ।

The sentence—We read with *trāisvarya*— means we read with three kinds of vowels, some with *udāttaguṇa* some with *anudāttaguṇa* and some with *ubhayaguṇa*. This may be illustrated thus :—*Śuklaguṇaḥ* is denoted by *śukla*, *kṛṣṇaguṇaḥ* by *kṛṣṇa* and that which is *ubhayaguṇaḥ* gets the name of *kalmāṣa* or *sāraṅga*. So also *udātta* is here the name of that which has *udāttaguṇa*, *anudātta* is the name of that which has *anudātta-guṇa* and that which has both the *guṇas* gets the third name of *svarita*.

1. This is by the *sūtra Arśa ādibhyōऽc* (5, 2, 127).

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तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् (1, 2, 32)

There are *three* topics dealt with here :—(1) The meaning of the word *ardhahrasvam* (2) The need of this *sūtra* (3) Which is *better*, to have the nine *sūtras* commencing with this *sūtra* and ending with *Udāttasvaritaparasya sannatarah* here or after the *sūtra Udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* (8, 9, 30) at the end of the book?

I

अर्धह्रस्वमित्युच्यते, तत्र दीर्घप्लुतयोर्न प्राप्नोति - कन्या शक्तिके३शक्तिके

The word *ardhahrasvam* is used and hence *svaritatva* has no chance in *dīrgha* and *pluta*, as in the words *kanyā*, *śaktikē*३ *śaktikē*.

नैष दोषः, मात्रचोऽत्र लोपो द्रष्टव्यः, अर्धह्रस्वमात्रम् अर्धह्रस्वम् इति

This difficulty does not arise; it should be considered that the *pratyaya mātrac* (which denotes *pramāṇa*) is elided here and hence *ardhahrasvam* means the quantity of the half of a short vowel.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says here :—*Arddhahrasvaśabdaḥ pramāṇavācī rūḍhiśabdaḥ; vyutpattyartham tu hrasvasya upādānam; ardhamātrā tu anēna abhidhīyatē*. *Haradatta* in his *Padamañjarī* says, "*Arddhahrasvagrahaṇēna arddhamātrā upalakṣyatē... hrasvagrahaṇam atantram iti, apradhānam upalakṣaṇatvād yathā kākēbhyō dadhi rakṣyatām ityatra kākāḥ*" Bhattōjidīkṣita, in his Śabdākāustubha says, "*Arddhahrasvaśabdēna arddhamātrā lakṣyatē*".... *yad vā, hrasvagrahaṇam avivakṣitam, tēna svaritasyādāu arddhamātrā arddham vā udāttam bōdhyam. Śrīnivāsayajvan*, the disciple of *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita*, has elaborately discussed these views in his *Svarasiddhānta-candrikā*.

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What is the need for this *sūtra*?

आमिश्रीभूतमिवेदं भवति । तद्यथा - क्षीरोदके सम्पृक्ते आमिश्रीभूतत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियत् क्षीरं, कियदुदकं, कस्मिन्नवकाशे क्षीरं, कस्मिन्नवकाशे[1] उदकमिति,

1. कस्मिन् वा is another reading.

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एवमिहापि आमिश्रीभूतत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियद् उदात्तं, कियद् अनुदात्तं, कस्मिन् अवकाशे उदात्तं, कस्मिन् अवकाशे अनुदात्तमिति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा अन्वाचष्टे, इयदुदात्तम् इयदनुदात्तम् अस्मिन्नवकाशे उदात्तम् अस्मिन्नवकाशे अनुदात्तमिति ।

This plays the role of a mixture. Just as it is not known in the mixture of milk and water, how much is milk and how much is water and in which portion it is milk and in which portion it is water, so also it is not known here on account of their being mixed up with, how much is *udātta*, how much is *anudātta*, which portion is *udātta* and which portion is *anudātta*. Hence *Ācārya* acting as our friend has stated this much is *udātta*, this much is *anudātta*, this portion is *udātta* and this portion is *anudātta*.

यद्ययमेवं सुहृत् किमन्यान्यपि एवञ्जातीयकानि नोपदिशति?

If so, why has not the friend dealt with similar topics in the same manner?

कानि पुनस्तानि? What are they?

स्थानकरणानुप्रदानानि

The place of articulation, the *ābhyantara-prayatna* and the *bāhyaprayatna*.

व्याकरणं नामेयमुत्तरा विद्या । सोऽसौ छन्दःशास्त्रेष्वभिविनीत उपलब्ध्याधिगन्तुमुत्सहते ।

Vyākaraṇa is the *vidyā* studied later on. He who has been instructed in *Chandas*, *Śikṣā* and *Prātiśākhya* is able to understand them from experience.

यद्येवं नार्थोऽनेन । इदमप्युपलब्ध्या अधिगमिष्यति

If so, this too is unnecessary. This, too, he will learn through experience.

संज्ञाकरणं तर्हीदम् । तस्य स्वरितस्य आदितोऽर्द्धह्रस्वमुदात्तसंज्ञं भवतीति ।

This, then, is a *saṁjñā - vidhāyaka - sūtra*. It says that half the *mātrā* at the beginning of the *svarita* gets the *udāttasaṁjñā*.

किं कृतं भवति? What is the advantage of it?

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त्रिरुदात्तप्रदेशेषु स्वरितग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति - "उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः," "उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य," नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् इति ।

The word *svarita* need not be read in the three *sūtras* where the word *udātta* is found:—"*Udātta-svaritaparasya sannataraḥ*," "*Udātta-svaritayōr yaṇaḥ svaritōsnudāttasya*" and "*Nōdātta-svaritōdayam agārgya-kāśyapa-gālavānām.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । संज्ञाकरणं हि नाम यतो न लघीयः ।

This too is not an advantage; for *saṁjñā* is that than which nothing else is lighter.

कुत एतत्? What is the authority for this?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्

For recourse to *saṁjñā* is taken for the sake of brevity.

लघीयश्च त्रिरुदात्तप्रदेशेषु स्वरितग्रहणं न पुनः संज्ञाकरणम्, त्रिरुदात्तप्रदेशेषु स्वरितग्रहणे नवाक्षराणि, संज्ञाकरणे पुनरेकादश

It is lighter to read the word *svarita* in the three *sūtras* where the word *udātta* is found than to read this *saṁjñāsūtra*; for there are nine syllables if the word *svarita* is read, thrice in the *sūtras* where the word *udātta* is found and there are eleven syllables if this *saṁjñāsūtra* is read.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन क्रियते, अन्वाख्यानं च संज्ञा च

If so, both are done by this, *anvākhyāna* and *saṁjñā*,

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम्?

How is it possible for one effort to reap both?

लभ्यमित्याह "It is possible to reap," says he.

कथम्? How?

अन्वर्थग्रहणात्

By the use of the word suggestive of the meaning.

अन्वर्थग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते । तस्य स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धह्रस्वमुदात्तसंज्ञं भवति । ऊर्ध्वमात्तमिति चात उदात्तम् ।

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The word will be taken to signify the sense. The word *udātta* in *tasya svaritasya āditō ardhahrasvam udāttasaṁjñam bhavati* is derived thus :—*ūrdhvam āttam.*

NOTE.—The meaning of *ūrdhvam āttam* is given by *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* thus :— *tālvādiṣu ūrdhvadēśē uccāraṇēna gṛhītam* (that which is secured by the pronunciation at the topmost part of palate etc.)

यदि तर्हि संज्ञाकरणम्, उदात्तादेर्यदुच्यते तत् स्वरितादेरपि प्राप्नोति

If it is taken as a *saṁjñā - vidhāyaka - sūtra*, that which is said to the initial *udātta* may chance to happen to the initial *svarita.*

अन्वाख्यानमेव तर्हि इदं मन्दबुद्धेः

If so, it is only *anvākhyāna* intended for dullards.

III

स्वरितस्यार्द्धह्रस्वोदात्तादोदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरादूर्ध्वमुदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितात् कार्यं, स्वरितादिति सिद्ध्यर्थम्

The section from the *sūtra* "*Tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam*" to the *sūtra* "*Udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ*" is to be read after the *sūtra* *Udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* for the *siddhatva* of *svarita* in the *sūtra* "*Svaritāt saṁhitāyām anudāttānām.*"

स्वरितस्य आ अर्धह्रस्वोदात्ताद् आ उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः इत्येतस्मात्सूत्रादिदं सूत्रकाण्डम् ऊर्ध्वम् उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः इत्यतः कर्तव्यम् ।

The section of *sūtras* commencing with "*Tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam*" and ending with "*Udātta-svaritaparasya-sannataraḥ*" should be read after the *sūtra* "*Udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*" found later on (in the fourth *pāda* of the eighth *adhyāya*).

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

स्वरितादिति सिद्ध्यर्थम् - स्वरितादिति सिद्धिर्यथा स्यात्, स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् इति - इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि ।

So that *svarita* of the word *svaritād* may not become *asiddha*. So that *svarita* mentioned in the *sūtra* "*Svaritād saṁhitāyām*

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anudāttānām" may not become *asiddha* resulting in the absence of *ēkaśruti* of syllables following the *svarita ē* in the *Ṛgvēdic* line.

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि

NOTE.—On account of the operation of the *sūtra Pūrvatrāsiddham* (8, 2, 1), the *sūtra* "*Udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*" (8, 4, 66) will be considered non-existent when the above *sūtras* of the second *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* begin to operate. When *svaritatva* itself is non-existent, how can the syllables which follow *svarita* be of *ēkaśruti* ?

क्व तर्हि स्यात्? Where then will it be ?

यः सिद्धः स्वरितः, कार्यं देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ

Where the *svarita* is *siddha* as in *kāryam Dēvadattayajñadattāu*.

NOTE.—The *ya* in *kārya* is *ṇyat* and hence *tit*; it becomes *svarita* by the *sūtra* "*Tit svaritam*" (6, 1, 185) and hence the vocative *Dēvadattayajñadattāu* which is *sarvānudātta* by the *sūtra* "*Āmantritasya ca*" (8, 1, 19) gets the *ēkaśruti*.

स्वरितोदात्तार्थं च

For the sake of *svarita* to become *udātta* also.

स्वरितोदात्तार्थं च तत्रैव कर्तव्यम् - न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः, इन्द्र आगच्छ

These *sūtras* should be read there, so that the *svarita* may become *udātta* in *subrahmaṇya - nigada* by the *sūtra* "*Na subrahmaṇyāyām svaritasya tūdāttaḥ*". In *Indra āgaccha*, *a* after *g* is *svarita* since it follows the *udātta a* by the *sūtra* "*Udāttād anudāttaḥ svaritaḥ*". It becomes *udātta* by the *sūtra* "*Na subrahmaṇyāyām...*". Since it is *asiddha* before any *sūtra* of *sapāda-saptādhyāyī*, *a* following *a* after *g* cannot become *svarita*.

क्व तर्हि स्यात्? Where will it then be ?

यः सिद्धः स्वरितः - सुब्रह्मण्योमिन्द्रागच्छ

It will be where the *svarita* is *svarita* as in *a* after *y* in *subrahmaṇyōm indrāgaccha* (by the *sūtra Tit svaritam* 6, 1, 185).

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स्वरितोदात्ताच्चास्वरितार्थम्

So that the syllable following the *udātta* which replaced *svarita* may not become *svarita.*

स्वरितोदात्ताच्च अस्वरितार्थं तत्रैव कर्तव्यम् – इन्द्रागच्छ, हरिवागच्छ

They should be read there so that the syllable following the *udātta* which replaced *svarita* may not become *svarita*, as a following *ch* in the expressions *Indrāgaccha, Harivāgaccha.*

स्वरितपरसन्नतरार्थं च

So that the *anudātta* preceding a *svarita* may become *anudāttatara.*

स्वरितपरसन्नतरार्थं च तत्रैव कर्तव्यम् उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः, माणवकजटिलकाध्यापक न्यङ् ।

They should be read there so that the *anudātta* preceding a *svarita* may become *anudāttatara*, to allow the final *a* in the expression *māṇavaka jaṭilakādhyāpaka* become *anudāttatara* before the *svarita a* in *nyaṅ.*

NOTE.—When the root *añc* is followed by *kvip* and is preceded by the preposition *ni*, *i* takes its original *svara* by the *sūtra* "*Nyadhīca*" (6, 3, 53) and *a* after *y* in *nyaṅ* takes *svarita-svara* by the *sūtra* "*Udātta-svaritayōr yaṇaḥ svaritōsnudāttasya*" (8, 2, 4). Since this *sūtra* is in *tripādī*, the *svarita* enjoined by it is *asiddha*, when the *sūtra* "*Udātta-svaritaparasya sannataraḥ*" (1, 2, 40) operates. Hence is the necessity to read the latter *sūtra* after the *sūtra Udāttād anudāttaḥ svaritaḥ.*

क तर्हि स्यात् ? Where, then, will it be?

यः सिद्धः स्वरितः । माणवकजटिलकाभिरूपक क

Where *svarita* is *siddha* as in *kva* in the expression *māṇavaka jaṭilakābhirūpaka kva.*

NOTE.—*Kva* takes *svarita* by the *sūtra* "*Tit svaritam*" (6, 1, 185) and it is *tit* from the *sūtras Kim ōt* (5, 3, 12) and *Kvāti* (7, 2, 105).

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, should be read there.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be.

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देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तवचनं ज्ञापकं स्वरितादिति सिद्धत्वस्य

Mention of *anudātta* to *dēva* and *brahma* is *jñāpaka* to the *siddhatva* of *svarita* in *Svaritād*...(1, 2, 39).

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तवचनं ज्ञापकं सिद्ध इह स्वरित इति

The mention of *anudātta* with reference to *dēva* and *brahma* suggests that *svarita* here is *siddha*.

यद्येतद् ज्ञाप्यते स्वरितोदात्तात्परस्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितत्वं प्राप्नोति

If this is suggested, there is chance for the *anudātta* following *svarita* and *udātta* to become *svarita*.

न ब्रूमः देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तवचनं ज्ञापकं सिद्ध इह स्वरित इति

We do not say that the mention of *anudātta* with reference to *dēva* and *brahman* suggests that *svarita* here is *siddha*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

परमेतत्सूत्रकाण्डमिति

But, on the other hand, it suggests that this section of *sūtras* is *siddha*.

NOTE.—The above arguments are based on the *nyāya* *Liṅgam pāṭhakramād balīyaḥ*.

एकश्रुति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ (1, 2, 33)

There are *two* topics here:—(1) Whether *sambuddhi* refers to vocative singular alone or the whole vocative and (2) Is *ēkaśruti udātta* or *anudātta*?

I

किमिदं पारिभाषिक्याः सम्बुद्धेर्ग्रहणम् "एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः" इति, आहोस्विद् अन्वर्थग्रहणम् सम्बोधनं सम्बुद्धिरिति?

Does the word *sambuddhi* refer to the technical term *sambuddhi* mentioned in the *sūtra* "*Ēkavacanam sambuddhiḥ*" (2, 3, 49) or *sambōdhana* which means "the word used to call a person"?

किं चातः? What if it is either?

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यदि पारिभाषिक्याः सम्बुद्धेर्ग्रहणं देवाः ब्रह्माणः अत्र न प्राप्नोति । अथान्वर्थ-ग्रहणं न दोषो भवति ।

If it refers to the *sambuddhi* which is *pāribhāṣikī*, the *saṁjñā* cannot comprehend *dēvāḥ brahmāṇah* (which are plural in form); if it is *anvarthagrahaṇa*, there is no defect.

यथा न दोषः, तथास्तु

Let it be taken in such a manner as will allow no defect.

II

किं पुनरियमेकश्रुतिरुदात्ता आहोस्विदनुदात्ता ?

Is this *ēkaśruti udāttā* or *anudāttā* ?

नोदात्ता It is not *udāttā*.

कथं ज्ञायते ? How is it known ?

यदयम् " उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः " इत्याह

Since he (*Sūtrakāra*) has read " *Uccāistarām vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ*."

NOTE.—The word *vaṣaṭkāra* refers to the word *vāuṣaṭ* used in *yajñas*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ? How does it become *jñāpaka* ?

अतन्त्रं तरनिर्देशः [1] ; यावदुच्चैः, तावदुच्चैस्तराम्

The use of the comparative suffix *tara* is not appropriate in the *sūtra*, since it is possible only when it is compared with one which is of high tone.

यदि तर्हि नोदात्ता, अनुदात्ता

If it is not, then, *udāttā*, it is *anudāttā*.

अनुदात्ता च न It is not *anudāttā* either.

कथं ज्ञायते ? How is it known ?

यदयम् " उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः " इत्याह

Since he (*Sūtrakāra*) has read the *sūtra* ' *Udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ* ' (1, 2, 40).

1. This is read as a *vārttika* in Guruprasādaśastri's edition.

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कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How does it become *jñāpaka* ?

अतन्त्रं तरनिर्देशः; यावत्सन्नः, तावत् सन्नतरः

The use of the comparative suffix *tara* is not appropriate in the *sūtra*, since it is possible only when it is compared with one which is of low tone.

सैषा ज्ञापकाभ्यामुदात्तानुदात्तयोर्मध्यमेकश्रुतिरन्तरालं ह्रियते

This *ēkaśruti* assumes a tone intermediate between *udātta* and *anudātta* through these two *jñāpakas*.

अपर आह Another says:

किमियमेकश्रुतिरुदात्ता आहोस्विदनुदात्ता?

Is this *ēkaśruti udāttā* or *anudāttā*?

उदात्ता It is *udāttā*.

कथं ज्ञायते? How is it known?

यदयम् "उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः" इत्याह

Since he reads the *sūtra* "*Uccāistarām vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ*,

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How does it become *jñāpaka*?

तन्त्रं तर निर्देशः, उच्चैर्दृष्ट्वा उच्चैस्तरामित्येतद्भवति ।

There is the use of *tara*, which is *śāstraic* and *uccāistarām* is used only on seeing that which is *uccāiḥ*.

यदि तर्ह्युदात्ता नानुदात्ता If it is *udāttā*, it cannot be *anudāttā*.

अनुदात्ता च It is *anudāttā* too.

कथं ज्ञायते How is it known?

यदयम् उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः इत्याह

Since he has read "*Udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ*".

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How does it become *jñāpaka*?

तन्त्रं तरनिर्देशः; सन्नं दृष्ट्वा सन्नतर इत्येतद् भवति ।

There is the use of *tara* which is *śāstraic* and *sannatara* is used only on seeing that which is *sanna*.

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त एते तन्त्रे तरनिर्देशे

The mention of two *sūtras* with *tara* is *śāstraic*.

सप्त स्वरा भवन्ति उदात्तः, उदात्ततरः, अनुदात्तः, अनुदात्ततरः, स्वरितः, स्वरिते य उदात्तः सोऽन्येन विशिष्टः, एकश्रुतिः सप्तमः

There are seven kinds of *svaras* :—*udātta*, *udāttatara*, *anudātta*, *anudāttatara*, *svarita*, the *udatta* in *svarita* mixed with another and *ēkaśruti* which is the seventh.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः (1, 2, 37)

सुब्रह्मण्यायामोकार उदात्तः *Ōkāra* in *subrahmaṇyōm* is *udātta*.

सुब्रह्मण्यायामोकार उदात्तो भवति, सुब्रह्मण्योम्

Ōkāra in *subrhmaṇyōm* in the *nigada* named *subrahmaṇya* is *udātta*.

NOTE :—The *vārttika* serves only as an explanation of the *sūtra* and not as a supplement.

आकार आख्याते परादिश्च

The initial syllable of a verb followed by the *upasarga ā*.

आकार आख्याते परादिश्चोदात्तो भवति, इन्द्र आगच्छ, हरिव आगच्छ

The initial syllable of a verb followed by the preposition *ā* is *udātta*, as *a* following *g* in *Indra āgaccha*, *Hariva āgaccha*.

वाक्यादौ च द्वे द्वे

Two syllables are *udātta* at the commencement of a sentence.

वाक्यादौ च द्वे द्वे उदात्ते भवतः, इन्द्र आगच्छ हरिव आगच्छ

At the commencement of a sentence two syllables become *udātta*. Hence *i* and *a* after *r* in *indra* in the sentence *indra āgaccha* and *a* after *h* and *i* after *r* in *hariva* in the sentence *hariva āgaccha* are *udātta*.

मघवन्वर्जम् Except in the word *maghavan*.

आगच्छ गघवन्

The word *maghavan* in *āgaccha maghavan* is *sarvānudātta*.

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सुत्यापराणामन्तः

The final syllable of those which are followed by *sutyā* is *udātta*.

सुत्यापराणामन्त उदात्तो भवति - द्व्यहे सुत्याम्, त्र्यहे सुत्याम्

The final syllable of those which are followed by *sutyā* is *udātta* as *ē* after *h* in *dvyahē sutyām* and *tryahē sutyām*.

असावित्यन्तः

The final syllable of the noun in the nominative case (is *udātta*).

असावित्यन्त उदात्तो भवति, गार्ग्यो यजते, वात्स्यो यजते

The final syllable of the noun in the nominative case is *udātta*, as *ō* in *Gārgyō* and *Vātsyō*.

अमुष्येत्यन्तः

The final syllable of the noun in the genetive case (is *udātta*).

अमुष्येत्यन्त उदात्तो भवति, दाक्षेः पिता यजते

The final syllable of the noun in the genetive case is *udātta*, as *ē* in *dākṣēḥ* in *dākṣēḥ pitā yajatē*.

स्यान्तस्योपोत्तमं च

The penultimate too of the noun in the genetive case ending in *sya* (is *udātta*).

स्यान्तस्योपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति, अन्त्यश्च । गार्ग्यस्य पिता यजते, वात्स्यस्य पिता यजते

The penultimate of the noun in the genetive case ending in *sya* and the final are *udātta* as *a* after *y*'s in *Gārgyasya* and *Vātsyasya*.

वा नामधेयस्य

(The penultimate) of the name is optionally *udātta*.

वा नामधेयस्य स्यान्तस्योपोत्तममनुदात्तं भवति, देवदत्तस्य पिता यजते देवदत्तस्य पिता यजते

The penultimate of the name in the genetive case ending in *sya* is optionally *udātta* and *a* after *t* in *Dēvadattasya pitā yajatē*.

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देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः (1, 2, 38)

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तत्वमेके Optional *anudāttatva* in *dēva* and *brahman.*

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तत्वमेक इच्छन्ति देवा ब्रह्माणः देवा ब्रह्माणः

Some desire to have *anudātta* in *dēva* and *brahman* as in *dēva brahmāṇaḥ.*

स्वरितात् संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् (1, 2, 39)

स्वरितात् संहितायामनुदात्तानामिति चेद् व्येकयोरैकश्रुत्यवचनम्

If the *sūtra* is read "*Svaritāt saṁhitāyām anudāttānām*", mention of the *āikaśrutya* of one and two.

स्वरितात् संहितायामनुदात्तानामिति चेद् व्येकयोरैकश्रुत्यं वक्तव्यम्, आग्निवेश्यः, पचति इति

If the *sūtra* is read "*Svaritāt saṁhitāyām anudāttānām*", there is need for the mention of *āikaśrutya* of one or two syllables, so that the syllables *vē* and *śya*, following the *svarita i* in the word *āgnivēśya* and the syllable *ti* following the *svarita a* after c in *pacati* may have *āikaśrutya.*

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why is it not accomplished ?

बहुवचननिर्देशात् On account of the use of the plural number.

बहुवचनेनायं निर्देशः क्रियते । तेन बहूनामेवैकश्रुत्यं स्याद् व्येकयोर्न स्यात् ।

There is the use of the plural number; hence there is chance only for three or more to get *āikaśrutya* and not for one or two.

नैष दोषः, नात्र बहुवचनेन निर्देशस्तन्त्रम्

This defect does not arise; the use of the plural number does not warrant that only three or more are intended.

NOTE.—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :—"*Tantraśabdaḥ atra pradhānavācī*" and *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* adds "*Tantraśabda iti - vivakṣitatvalakṣaṇam prādhānyam.*"

कथं पुनस्तेनैव च नाम निर्देशः क्रियते, तच्चातन्त्रं स्यात्? तत्कारी च भवान्, तद्द्वेषी च ।

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How is it that mention is made through it (plural number) and is said to be unimportant? You do it and cancel it.

नान्तरीयकत्वाद् अत्र बहुवचनेन निर्देशः क्रियते - अवश्यं कयाचिद् विभक्त्या केनचिद्वचनेन निर्देशः कर्तव्य इति । तद्यथा - कश्चिद् अन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सपलालं सतुषम् आहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् । स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति । तथा कश्चित् मांसार्थी मत्स्यान् सकण्टकान् सशकलान् आहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् । स यावद् आदेयं तावद् आदाय शकलकण्टकान्युत्सृजति । एवमिहापि नान्तरीयकत्वाद् बहुवचननिर्देशः क्रियते । अविशेषेणैकश्रुत्यं भवति ।

It is expressed here in plural number, since there is no other go. Mention has to be made through some case and some number. This may be illustrated as follows:—One eager of getting food procures *śambā* paddy with chaff and husk, since there is no other go. He takes in whatever is necessary and throws away chaff and husk. Similarly one who is desirous of fish procures fish with fins and scales, since there is no other go. He takes in whatever is necessary and throws away fins and scales. So also mention is made in plural number, since there is no other go. *Āikaśrutya* happens whether the syllable which follows *svarita* is one, two or many.

NOTE.—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Śabdasaṁskārārtham ēva atra bahutvam vivakṣyatē, na tu kāryasiddhyartham.*

अविशेषेणैकश्रुत्यमिति चेद् व्यवहितानामप्रसिद्धिः

If *āikaśrutya* is admitted for all, there is no chance for those which do not immediately follow the *svarita*.

अविशेषेणैकश्रुत्यमिति चेद् व्यवहितानामैकश्रुत्यं न प्राप्नोति 'इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि'

If *āikaśrutya* is admitted for all, there is no chance for those which are remote from *svarita* as the syllable *gē* and those that follow it in

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि

अनेकमपीति तु वचनात्सिद्धम्

The object is accomplished by reading *anēkam api* in the *sūtra*.

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अनेकमप्येकमपि स्वरितात्परं संहितायामेकश्रुति भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

The *sūtra* should be read "*Anēkamapyēkam api svaritāt param saṁhitāyām ēkaśruti bhavati.*"

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते

It is accomplished; but the *sūtra* has to be changed.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* be as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् - स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानामिति चेद् द्व्येकयोरैकश्रुत्यवचनम्, अविशेषेणेति चेद् व्यवहितानामप्रसिद्धिः इति ।

Oh it has been said that, if the *sūtra* is read "*Svaritāt saṁhitāyām anudāttānām*", mention should be made of *āikaśrutya* of one or two and if it is taken to apply to all, there is no chance for *āikaśrutya* for those which are remote from *svarita.*

नैष दोषः This defect does not arise.

कथम्? How?

एकशेषनिर्देशोऽयम् - अनुदात्तस्य च अनुदात्तयोश्च अनुदात्तानां च अनुदात्तानां इति

Anudāttānām is to be taken as an *ēkaśēṣadvandva* whose *vigrahavākya* is '*anudāttasya ca anudāttayōś ca anudāttānām ca.*'

एवमपि षट्प्रभृतीनामेव प्राप्नोति; षट्प्रभृतिषु ह्येकशेषः परिसमाप्यते

Even then, it will hold good only for six and more, since the *ēkaśēṣa* completes only with six and more.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Sahavivakṣāyām ēkaśēṣa-vidhānāt samuditānām kāryaprasaṅgaḥ.*

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृष्टेति द्व्येकयोरपि भविष्यति ।

It chances to come for one or two also on the basis of the fact that the fruit of the meaning of the sentence is seen individually.

NOTE.—There is reference to this in the seventh topic under the *sūtra Vṛddhir ādāic* in the third *āhnika.* (Vol. I. pp. 195 & 196)

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अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः (1, 2, 41)

Which is better to be used in the *sūtra al* or *hal* and whether there is need for the mention of *ēka* in the *sūtra* are the topics that are dealt with here.

अपृक्तसंज्ञायां हल्ग्रहणं स्वादिलोपे हलोऽग्रहणार्थम्

Mention of the word *hal* in *apṛkta-saṁjñā-vidhāyaka-sūtra* is for the dropping of the word *hal* in the *sūtra* enjoining *svādi-lōpa*.

अपृक्तसंज्ञायां हल्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । एकहल्प्रत्ययो अपृक्तसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

The word *hal* is to be read in the *apṛkta-saṁjñā-vidhāyaka-sūtra*. It should be said that the *pratyaya* which consists of a single consonant takes the *apṛkta-saṁjñā*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

स्वादिलोपे हलोऽग्रहणार्थम् । एवं हि स्वादिलोपे हलो ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति, "हल्ङ्याभ्यो दीर्घात् सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल्" इति, अपृक्तस्येत्येव सिद्धम्

For the dropping of the word *hal* in the *sūtra* dealing with *svādilōpa*. If so, the word *hal* need not be read in the *sūtra* "*Halṅyābhyō dīrghāt sutisyapṛktam hal*" (6, 1, 68) which deals with the elision of *su* etc., since the purpose is served by the word *apṛkta* in the *sūtra*.

अणिञोर्लुगर्थमल्ग्रहणम्

The word *al* is for the sake of the *luk* of *aṇ* and *iñ*.

अणिञोर्लुगर्थमल्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

The word *al* has to be read for the sake of *luk* of *aṇ* and *iñ*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

अणिञोर्लुकि ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति, "ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणिञोः" इति; अपृक्तस्येत्येव सिद्धम्

The expression *aṇiñōḥ* need not be read in the *sūtra* "*Ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitō yūni lug aṇiñōḥ*" (2, 4, 58) which deals with the *luk* of *aṇiñōḥ*, since its purpose is served by the *saṁjñā apṛkta*.

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अणिञोर्लुगर्थमिति चेण्णेऽतिप्रसङ्गः

If it is said for the *luk* of *aṇiñōḥ*, there will be *ativyāpti* in *ṇa*.

अणिञोर्लुगर्थमिति चेण्णेऽतिप्रसङ्गो भवति । इहापि प्राप्नोति - फाण्टाहृतेरपत्यं माणवकः फाण्टाहृत इति ।

If it is said for the *luk* of *aṇiñōḥ*, there will be *ativyāpti* in the *pratyaya ṇa*, so that the *luk* of *ṇa* may happen in the word *Phāṇṭāhṛta* which means the son or the disciple of *Phāṇṭāhṛti*- (which is enjoined by the *sūtra* " *Phāṇṭāhṛti-mimatābhyām ṇaphiñāu* " (4, 1, 150).

णवचनसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति

It does not take place on account of the *sāmarthya* of the mention of *ṇa*.

वचनप्रामाण्यादिति चेत् फङ्निवृत्त्यर्थं वचनम्

If it is said that it is on account of *vacanaprāmāṇya*, the mention is to prohibit *phak*.

वचनप्रामाण्यादिति चेत् फङ्निवृत्त्यर्थमेतत् स्यात्, फगतो भा भूद् इति

If it is said that there is no *luk* to *ṇa* on account of its mention, it may be to prohibit *pha* and its effect.

NOTE.— *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :— *Yañ-iñōśca iti prāptasya phakō bādhanārtham ṇavacanam syāt tasya ca luk syād ēva ityarthaḥ.*

पैलादिषु वचनात् सिद्धम्

It will be accomplished by reading it in *pāilādi-gaṇa.*

यद्येतावत्प्रयोजनं स्यात् पैलादिष्वेवास्य पाठं कुर्वीत । तत्र पाठादन्येषामपि फको निवृत्तिर्भवति ।

If the *prayōjana* is only so far, it may as well be read in the *pāilādigaṇa.* Through reading it there, there will be *nivṛtti* of *phak* (by the *sūtra* " *Pāilādibhyaś ca* " 2, 4, 59).

एवं सिद्धे सति यदयं णं शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो नास्य लुग् भवतीति

Since he (*Sūtrakāra*) reads *ṇa* in the *sūtra* when the result can thus be achieved, *Ācārya* suggests that it is not elided.

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तान्येतानि त्रीणि ग्रहणानि भवन्ति - अपृक्तसंज्ञायां हल्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; स्वादिलोपे हलो ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यम्; अणिञोर्लुकि ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। अल्ग्रहणेऽपि वै क्रियमाणे तान्येव त्रीणि ग्रहणानि भवन्ति - अपृक्तसंज्ञायाम् अल्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; स्वादिलोपे हलो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; अणिञोर्लुकि ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यम् भवति, अपृक्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। तत्र नास्ति लाघवकृतो विशेषः।

(If *hal* is read in this *sūtra*) there are three factors to be noted :—(1) *hal* should be read in the *apṛkta-saṁjñā-vidhāyaka-sūtra* (2) *hal* need not be read in the *sūtra* "*Halṇyābhō dīrghāt sutisyapṛktam hal*" and (3) *aṇiñōḥ* has to be read in the *sūtra* "*Ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitō yūni lug aṇiñōḥ*". Even when *al* is read, there are evidently three similar factors to be noted :—(1) *al* should be read in the *apṛkta-saṁjñā-vidhāyāka-sūtra* (2) *hal* has to be read in the *sūtra* "*Halṅyābhyō ... hal*" and (3) *aṇiñōh* need not be read and *apṛkta* has to be read. (Hence) replacing *al* by *hal* has no advantage of being lighter.

अयमस्ति विशेषः, अल्ग्रहणे क्रियमाणे एकग्रहणं न करिष्यते।

There is this advantage that, if *al* is read, there is no need for the word *ēka* in the *sūtra*.

कस्मान्न भवति दर्विः, जागृविः?

How is it that the *sūtra* "*Vēr apṛktasya*" (6, 1, 57) does not operate in *darviḥ* and *jāgṛviḥ*?

अलेव यः प्रत्ययः

Al is in apposition with *pratyaya* (and not its *viśēṣaṇa*)

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is this to be so stated?

न हि Certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it so understood without such a mention?

अल्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् By the capacity of the mention of *al*.

यदि च योऽल् चान्यश्च तत्र स्यात्, अल्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्

If there is one *al* and another at the end, mention of *al* will be of no use.

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हल्ग्रहणेऽपि वै क्रियमाणे एकग्रहणं न करिष्यते

Even if *hal* is read in place of *al*, the word *ēka* need not be read.

कस्मान्न भवति दर्विः जागृविः ?

How is it that " *Vēr apṛktasya* " will not operate there ?

हलेव यः प्रत्ययः

Hal is taken in apposition with *pratyaya* (and not as its *viśēṣaṇa* allowing *tadantavidhi*).

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ? Is this to be stated ?

न हि Certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How is it so understood without such a mention ?

हल्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

Through the capacity of the mention of *hal*.

यदि च यो हल् चान्यश्च तत्र स्यात् हल्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्

If there is one *hal* and another at the end, mention of *hal* will be of no use.

अस्त्यन्यद् हल्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम्

There is another purpose served by the mention of *hal*.

किम् ? What ?

हलन्तस्य यथा स्यादजन्तस्य मा भूदिति

So that it may operate to *halanta* and not to *ajanta*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदल्ग्रहणे क्रियमाणे एकग्रहणं करोति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः 'अन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणं भवति' इति ।

If so, since *Ācārya* has made mention of *ēka* in the *sūtra* when the desired purpose can be achieved without it, he suggests the *paribhāṣā* '*Anyatra varṇagrahaṇē jātigrahaṇam bhavati*' (Mention of a letter elsewhere refers to genus).

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit of this *jñāpana* ?

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दम्भेर्हल्ग्रहणस्य जातिवाचकत्वात् सिद्धमित्युक्तं तद् उपपन्नं भवति

The statement '*Dambhēr halgrahaṇasya jativācakatvāt siddham*' mentioned (at the end of "*Halantāc ca*" (1, 2, 10) becomes appropriate.

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः (1, 2, 42)

तत्पुरुषस्समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारय इति चेत् समासैकार्थत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

If it is said that *tatpuruṣa* which is *samānādhi-karaṇa* is called *karmadhāraya*, the *saṁjñā* cannot be accomplished on account of *ēkārthatva* of the *samāsa*.

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारय इति चेत्, समासैकार्थत्वात् संज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः । एकोऽयमर्थस्तत्पुरुषो नाम; अनेकार्थाश्रयं च सामानाधिकरण्यम् ।

If it is said that the *tatpuruṣa* which is *samānādhikaraṇa* takes the *saṁjñā karmadhāraya*, it is not possible to reach at the *saṁjñā*, since the compound word connotes only one object and *sāmānādhikaraṇya* is with reference to two objects.

NOTE:—The existence of words of different connotation in one place is called *sāmānadhikaraṇya*.

सिद्धं तु पदसामानाधिकरण्यात्

The object is achieved on account of the *sāmānādhikaraṇya* of the words (of the *samāsa*).

सिद्धमेतत् This is accomplished.

कथम् ? How ?

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

The *sūtra* has to be read "*Tatpuruṣaḥ samānidhikaraṇapadaḥ karmadhārayaḥ*".

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते

It is accomplished ; but the *sūtra*, then, has to be modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तं तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारय इति चेत्, समासैकार्थत्वादप्रसिद्धिः इति

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Oh! it has been said "*Tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhāraya iti cēt, samāsāikārthatvād aprasiddhiḥ.*"

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

अयं तत्पुरुषोऽस्त्येव प्राथमकल्पिको यस्मिन् ऐकपद्यमैकस्वर्यमेकविभक्तित्वं च । अस्ति तादर्थ्यात् ताच्छब्द्यं तत्पुरुषार्थानि पदानि तत्पुरुष इति । तद्यस्तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ।

Primarily should *tatpuruṣa* refer to that which has one meaning, one *udātta* syllable and one case-suffix after it. Secondarily the word *tatpuruṣa* may refer to the words which are intended to form the compound, since a word sometimes denotes that which is responsible for its formation. The word *tatpuruṣa* in this *sūtra* belongs to the second category.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :- *Sāmarthyāt tatpuruṣaśabdaḥ gāuṇārthavṛttiḥ parigṛhyatē. Samāsāvayavānām ēva padānām karmadhāraya-saṁjñā vidhīyatē, samudāyē ca vākyaparisamāptyā padasamudāyasya ēkāiva karmadhāraya-saṁjñā, na tu pratyēkam.*

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् (1, 2, 43)

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनमिति चेदनिर्देशात् प्रथमायाः समासे संज्ञाप्रसिद्धिः

If it is read "*Prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam,*" non-attainment of the *saṁjñā* on account of the non-mention of *prathamā* in *samāsa.*

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनमिति चेदनिर्देशात् प्रथमायाः समासे उपसर्जनसंज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः । न हि कष्टादीनां समासे प्रथमां पश्यामः ।

If the *sūtra* is read :—*Prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam,*" it is not possible to achieve the *saṁjñā* (*upasarjanam*) on account of the non-mention of *prathamā* in *samāsa*; for we do not see any *prathamā* after *kaṣṭa* etc. in the *samāsa.*

NOTE :—*Prathamā-vibhakti* has a chance to be affixed only after the stem of the compound is formed; if it is taken to refer to the case-suffix affixed to the words before they became *samāsa*, there is *prathamā* only after *śrita* in the words *kaṣṭam* and *śritaḥ* and not after *kaṣṭa* and hence the word *śrita* will have a chance to get the *saṁjñā*, but we want *kaṣṭa* to get it.

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सिद्धं तु समासविधाने वचनात्

It is accomplished by reading *samāsa-vidhānē* in the *sūtra* (in place of *samāsē*).

सिद्धमेतत् This (object) is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

समासविधाने प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

The *sūtra* should be read thus :—"*Samāsa-vidhānē prathamā-nirdiṣṭam upasarjanam*".

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, should be so read.

न वा तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यम्

No, it need not; mention of that word to connote that which has it for its *prayōjana*.

न वा वक्तव्यम् Or it need not be so read.

किं कारणम्? Why?

तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं भविष्यति । समासार्थं शास्त्रं समास इति

That word (*samāsē*) has the connotation of that for which it is intended and it is taken to mean (through *gāuṇī-vṛtti*) the *śāstra* intended to explain *samāsa*.

यस्य विधौ प्रथमानिर्देशस्ततोऽन्यत्रोपसर्जनसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

Chance for *upasarjana-saṁjñā* for that even in places other than where *prathamā* is mentioned for its *vidhāna*.

यस्य विधौ प्रथमानिर्देशः क्रियते, ततोऽन्यत्रापि तस्योपसर्जनसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । राज्ञः कुमारीं राजकुमारीं श्रितः । श्रितादिसमासे द्वितीयान्तं प्रथमानिर्दिष्टम्, तस्य षष्ठीसमासेऽप्युपसर्जनसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

The *upasarjana-saṁjñā* chances to be applied to a word even in places other than where *prathamā* is mentioned for its *vidhāna*. In the *samāsa kumārī-śritaḥ* the *prathamā* after *śritaḥ* makes *kumarī* take the *upasarjana-saṁjñā* and the same *saṁjñā* may be applied to *kumārī* in *rājakumārīm* which is *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* in the expression *rājakumārīm śritaḥ*.

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NOTE :—In *rājakumārīśritaḥ*, which is *dvitīya-tatpuruṣa-samāsa* of *rājakumārīm* and *śritaḥ*, *rājakumārī* takes *upasarjana-saṁjñā* and in *kumārīśritaḥ*, *kumārī* takes *upasarjanasaṁjñā*; but *kumārī* in *rājakumārī* cannot take the same *saṁjñā*.

सिद्धं तु यस्य विधौ तं प्रतीति वचनात्

The object is accomplished since it is mentioned that it alone takes it where mention is made for its *vidhāna*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (object) is accomplished.

कथम् ? How?

यस्य विधौ यत्प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं तं प्रति तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It should be stated that it alone takes *upasarjanasaṁjñā* with reference to that which is provided with *prathamā* to determine its relation.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It should, then, be stated.

न वक्तव्यम् । उपसर्जनम् इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः ।

No, it need not. A long *saṁjñā* in the form of *upasarjanam* is made and *saṁjñā* should be of such a form as none else is shorter than it.

कुत एतत् ? On what authority is this view taken?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्

Making of *saṁjñās* is evidently for the sake of brevity.

तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणे एतत् प्रयोजनम् अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत, अप्रधानमुपसर्जनमिति । प्रधानम् उपसर्जनम् इति सम्बन्धिशब्दावेतौ । तत्र सम्बन्धादेतद् गन्तव्यम् - यं प्रति यद् अप्रधानं तं प्रति तद् उपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति इति ।

This is the *prayōjana* of making a long *saṁjñā* that it is *anvartha*, and hence it means *apradhāna*. The words *pradhānam* and *upasarjanam* are related words. From the relationship this is to be understood that one which is *apradhāna* in its relation to another gets the *upasarjanasaṁjñā* with reference to it.

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अथ यत्र द्वे षष्ठ्यन्ते कस्मात् तत्र प्रधानस्योपसर्जनसंज्ञा न भवति, राज्ञः पुरुषस्य राजपुरुषस्य इति?

Then, why does not the *pradhāna* get the *upasarjanasaṁjñā* where there are two words ending in sixth case-suffix as in *rājapuruṣasya* which is the *samāsa* of *rājñaḥ* and *puruṣasya* ?

षष्ठ्यन्तयोश्चोपसर्जनत्वे उक्तम्

It has been said with reference to *upasarjanatva* when two *ṣaṣṭhyantas* form a compound.

किमुक्तम्? What has been said?

षष्ठ्यन्तयोः समासेऽर्थाभेदात् प्रधानस्यापूर्वनिपातः इति । एवं न चेदमकृतं भवति 'उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्' इति । अर्थश्चाभिन्न इति कृत्वा प्रधानस्य पूर्वनिपातो न भविष्यति ।

With reference to the *samāsa* of two *ṣaṣṭhyantas* there is no chance for the *pūrvanipāta* of the *pradhāna*. Hence the rule *Upasarjanam pūrvam* does not operate there. On taking the meanings conveyed by the two words to be indentical, there is no *pūrvanipāta* to the *pradhāna*.

NOTE :—1. The lines "*Ṣaṣṭhyantayōḥ ... na bhaviṣyati*" are found under the *sūtra* 2, 2, 30.

NOTE :—2. Since "*Ṣaṣṭhyantayōḥ samāsē arthābhēdāt pradhānasya apūrvanipātaḥ*" is found as a *vārttika* under the *sūtra* "*Upasarjanam pūrvam*" (2, 2, 30), there is reason to think that the statement "*Ṣaṣṭhyantayōṣcōpasarjanatvē uktam* may not be a *vārttika*, but *bhāṣya*. But the editions of Pāndu-ranga Javaji and Guruprasādaśāstrī read it as a *vārttika*.

यद्यपि तावदेतदुपसर्जनकार्यं परिहृतम्, इदमपरं प्राप्नोति राज्ञः कुमार्याः राजकुमार्याः, 'गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य' इति ह्रस्वत्वं प्राप्नोति

Even though *pūrvanipāta*, which is *upasarjanakārya* is thus avoided, this another—the shortening of *i rājakumāryāḥ*, the compound of *rājñaḥ* and *kumāryāḥ*—takes place on the strength of the *sūtra* "*Gōstriyōr upasarjanasya*".

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उक्तं वा [1] It has been answered.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered ?

परवल्लिङ्गमिति शब्दशब्दार्थौ [2] इति । तत्रौपदेशिकस्य ह्रस्वत्वम्, आतिदेशिकस्य श्रवणं भविष्यति ।

The *vārttika Paravalliṅgam iti śabdaśabdārthāu.* From it, it is understood that shortening is only to *āupadēśika* and not to *ātidēśika.*

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते (1, 2, 44)

द्वितीयादीनामप्यनेनोपसर्जनसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

There is chance for the nouns in the accusative case etc. (as *Kṛṣṇam* in *Kṛṣṇaśritaḥ*) to take *upasarjana-saṁjñā.*

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

तत्रापूर्वनिपात इति प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत

In that case the *pūrvanipātatva* (of *kṛṣṇa* etc.) will be prohibited on the strength of *apūrvanipātē* in the *sūtra*.

नाप्रतिषेधात् No, on account of its not being *pratiṣēdha.*

नायं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः पूर्वनिपाते न इति

It is not *prasajyapratiṣēdha*, so that it may mean that it is not so when there is *pūrvanipāta.*

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

पर्युदासोऽयम्, यदन्यत् पूर्वनिपातादिति

It is *paryudāsa*, so that it means ' one other then *pūrvanipāta.*

पूर्वनिपाते अव्यापारः । यदि केनचित् प्राप्नोति तेन भविष्यति । पूर्वेण च प्राप्नोति, तेन भविष्यति ।

This *sūtra* has no hold on *pūrvanipāta.* If it chances to come through some other rule, it shall come. It chances to come by the previous rule and it shall come.

1. This is read as a *vārttika* in some editions.
2. This is a *vārttika* under 2-4-26.

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अप्राप्तेर्वा Or on account of its being not operated upon.

अथवा अनन्तरा या प्राप्तिः सा प्रतिषिध्यते

Or the chance enjoined by the *sūtra* that follows is prohibited.

कुत एतत् ? On what authority is it so stated?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति

Vidhi or *pratiṣēdha* is only with reference to what follows.

पूर्वा प्राप्तिरप्रतिषिद्धा तया भविष्यति

The chance from the previous *sūtra* is not prohibited and it shall come on the strength of it.

ननु चेयं प्राप्तिः पूर्वां प्राप्तिं बाधते

Oh, does not the *prāpti* by the rule here set at naught the *prāpti* by the rule before.

नोत्सहते प्रतिषिद्धा सती बाधितुम्

It, being prohibited, has no capacity to set the other at naught.

एकविभक्तावषष्ठ्यन्तवचनम् -

Mention of *aṣaṣṭhyanta* with reference to *ēkavibhakti* (is necessary).

एकविभक्तावषष्ठ्यन्तानामिति वक्तव्यम्, इह मा भूत् अर्धं पिप्पल्याः अर्धपिप्पली इति

There is the need to read *aṣaṣṭhyanta* with reference to *ēkavibhakti*, so that it may not happen in *ardhapippalī* which is the *samāsa* of *pippalyāḥ ardham*.

उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered?

परवल्लिङ्गमिति शब्दशब्दार्थौ [1] इति ; तत्रौपदेशिकस्य ह्रस्वत्वम्, आतिदेशिकस्य श्रवणं भविष्यति

1. This *vārttika* is under 2-4-26.

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Paravalliṅgam iti śabdaśabdārthāu. This suggests that shortening is for that for which there is *upadēśa* and not for that which is *atidiṣṭa.*

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What are the benefits accrued from this *sūtra* ?

प्रयोजनं द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालंपूर्वोपसर्गाः

Prayōjana is with reference to *dvigu, prāpta, āpanna, alampūrva* and *upasarga.*

क्तार्थे द्विगुः, पञ्चभिर्गोभिः क्रीतः पञ्चगुः, दशगुः

Dvigu in *ktārtha* ; *pañcaguḥ* which means cow brought for five ; *daśaguḥ.*

प्राप्तापन्न - प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः, आपन्नो जीविकाम् आपन्नजीविकः

Prāptajīvikaḥ and *āpannajīvikaḥ,* the *samāsas* of *praptaḥ* and *jīvikām* and *āpannaḥ* and *jīvikām.*

अलंपूर्व - अलं कुमार्यै अलङ्कुमारिः ।

Alaṅkumāriḥ is the *samāsa* of *alam* and *kumāryāi.*

उपसर्गाः क्तार्थे, निष्कौशाम्बिः, निर्वाराणसिः

Upasarga in having *ktārtha* :—*Niṣkāuśāmbiḥ, Nirvārāṇasiḥ.*

TENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

(First *adhyāya,* second *pāda,* first *āhnika* ends)

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Eleventh Āhnika

(*First adhyāya, second pāda, second āhnika*)

अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् (1, 2, 45)

There are *six* topics dealt with here:—(1) The *prayōjana* of the use of the words *arthavat*, *adhātuḥ* and *apratyayaḥ*; (2) The difficulties arising from the use of *arthavat* and their solution; (3) The impropriety of assigning meaning to the stem of a noun; (4) Whether letters have meaning or not: (5) Need for the mention of the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* to *nipātana* and (6) Whether *apratyayaḥ* is *paryudāsa* or *prasajyapratiṣēdha*.

I

अर्थवद्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What for is the mention of the word *arthavat*?

अर्थवदिति व्यपदेशाय । वर्णानां मा भूदिति

The word *arthavat* is to show explicitly (the *saṁjñin*), so that the *saṁjñā* may not operate to *varṇas*.

किं च स्यात्?

What will happen, if *varṇas* get the *saṁjñā*?

वनं धनमिति नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य इति नलोपः प्रसज्येत

There may be chance for the elision of *n* in the words *vana* and *dhana* on the strength of the *sūtra Nalōpaḥ prātipadikāntasya* (8, 2, 7).

अधातुरिति किमर्थम्? What for is the word *adhātuḥ*?

अहन् वृत्रम्

So that the word *ahan* in *ahan Vṛtram* may not take the *saṁjñā* (in which case there may be elision to *n*).

अधातुरिति शक्यमवक्तुम्

It is possible to dispense with the word *adhātuḥ*.

कस्मान्न भवति अहन् वृत्रम् इति

How is it to avoid the *saṁjñā* to *ahan* in *ahan Vṛtram*?

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आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न धातोः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवतीति, यदयं सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः इति धातुग्रहणं करोति

The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Pāṇini*) suggests that root does not take *prātipadikasaṁjñā*, since he reads the word *dhātu* in the *sūtra* *Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ* (2, 4, 71).

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । प्रतिषिद्धार्थमेतत् स्यात्, अपि काकः श्येनायत इति

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*, since it is necessary for the sake of that which is prohibited, as in the word *śyēnāyatē* in the sentence '*Api kākaḥ śyēnāyatē*?'

Note :—The *sup* after *śyēna* is dropped in the word *śyēnāyatē*, considering *śyēna* to be *dhātvayava* and the word *dhātu* in the *sūtra Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ* becomes *caritārtha* there.

अप्रत्यय इति किम्? What for is the word *apratyaya*?

काण्डे, कुड्ये

So that *ē* in *kāṇḍē* and *kuḍyē* may not take the *saṁjñā*, through the dictum *parādivadbhāvēna pratyayāntatvam*.

अप्रत्यय इति शक्यमवक्तुम्

It is possible to dispense with the word *apratyayaḥ*.

कस्मान्न भवति काण्डे कुड्ये इति

How does it (*saṁjñā*) not operate with reference to *ē* in *kāṇḍē*, and *kuḍyē*?

कृत्तद्धितग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति, कृत्तद्धितान्तस्यैव प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवति नान्यस्य इति

Mention of *kṛt* and *taddhita* (in the following *sūtra*) is for the sake of *niyama*, so that *prātipadikasaṁjñā* comes within the purview of only those which have at their end *kṛt-pratyaya* or *taddhita-pratyaya* and none else.

Note :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :— *Taddhitagrahaṇam atra niyamārtham, kṛdgrahaṇam tu pratiṣiddhārtham, bhit, chid iti; atra hi adhātuḥ iti pratiṣēdhaprasaṅgaḥ.*

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II

अर्थवत्यनेकपदप्रसङ्गः

Chance for a collection of words to take the *saṁjñā* if *arthavat* takes it.

अर्थवदिति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायामनेकस्यापि पदस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति - दश दाडिमानि, षडपूपाः, कुण्डमजाजिनं पललपिण्डः अधरोरुकमेतत्कुमार्याः स्फैयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीन इति ।

If the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* is enjoined to that which has meaning, a collection of words like *daśa dāḍimāni ṣad apūpāḥ kuṇḍam ajājinam palalapiṇḍaḥ adharōrukam ētat kumāryāḥ Sphāiyakṛtasya pitā Prātiśīnaḥ* as a whole may chance to take *prātipadikasaṁjñā*.

समुदायोऽत्रानर्थकः

The collection of words here as a whole has no meaning.

समुदायोऽनर्थक इति चेदवयवार्थवत्त्वात्समुदायार्थवत्त्वं यथा लोके

If it is said that *samudāya* is *anarthaka*, (it is not); *samudāya* has meaning since its parts have meaning, as is in the world.

समुदायोऽनर्थक इति चेद् अवयवार्थवत्त्वात् समुदायार्थवत्त्वम्; अवयवैरर्थवद्भिः समुदाया अर्थवन्तो भवन्ति ।

If it is said that *samudāya* is *anarthaka*, (it is not); *samudāya* has meaning since *avayavas* have meaning. The collections of words do possess meaning, since their parts have meaning.

यथा लोके - तद्यथा लोके - आढ्यमिदं नगरं, गोमदिदं नगरम् इत्युच्यते; न च सर्वे तत्राढ्या भवन्ति, सर्वे वा गोमन्तः

As is in the world. It may be illustrated from what is seen in the world. It is said "This city is rich", "This city has wealth of cows." Neither are all residents of the city rich, nor do all possess the wealth of cows.

यथा लोके इत्युच्यते; लोके च अवयवा एव अर्थवन्तः, न समुदायाः । आतश्च अवयवा एवार्थवन्तो न समुदायाः, यस्य हि यद् द्रव्यं भवति स तेन कार्यं करोति; यस्य च या गावो भवन्ति स तासां क्षीरं घृतमुपभुङ्क्ते; अन्यैः एतद् द्रष्टुमप्यशक्यम् ।

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It is said "*Yatha lōkē*"; it is only the limbs of the world that have *artha* and not the collections of the limbs; hence it is only the *avayavas* that possess *artha* and not *samudāyas*; he who has money makes use of it; he who has cows drinks their milk and ghee; others cannot even look at it.

का तर्हीयं वाचोयुक्तिः 'आढ्यमिदं नगरम्', गोमद् इदं नगरम्' इति ?

How then has the statement "The city is rich", "This city possesses the wealth of cows", to be explained?

एषैषा वाचोयुक्तिः, इह तावद् आढ्यमिदं नगरमिति अकारो मत्वर्थीयः, आढ्या अस्मिन् सन्ति तदिदम् आढ्यम् इति; गोमदिदं नगरम् इति, मत्वन्तात् मत्वर्थीयो लुप्यते ।

This statement may have this explanation. Firstly here in the statement "*āḍhyam idam nagaram*", *a* is *matvarthīya*, so that *āḍhyam* means *āḍhyāḥ asmin santi* and in the statement "*gōmad idam nagaram*", the *pratyaya* having *matvartha* is dropped after *matvartha*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* explains *ēṣāiṣā vācōyuktiḥ* thus:—*ēṣā yā vācōyuktiḥ sāiṣā ētatpramāṇā*.

एवमपि — Even then.

वाक्यप्रतिषेधोऽर्थवत्त्वात्

Prohibition of a sentence, it having meaning.

वाक्यस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम्, देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णाम् इति ।

There is need to prohibit the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* to a sentence like "*Dēvadatta gām abhyāja śuklām*" (Oh *Dēvadattah*, drive the white cows), "*Dēvadatta gām abhyāja kṛṣṇām*" (Oh *Dēvadatta* drive the black cows).

किं कारणम् ? Why?

अर्थवत्त्वात्; अर्थवद्धि एतद् वाक्यम्

On account of its having meaning; for this sentence has meaning.

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न वै पदार्थादन्यस्यार्थस्योपलंब्धिर्भवति वाक्ये

Nothing is found in the meaning of the sentence other than the meaning of the words.

पदार्थादन्यस्यानुपलब्धिरिति चेत् पदार्थाभिसम्बन्धस्योपलब्धिस्तस्मात्प्रतिषेधः

If it is said that there is nothing in the meaning of a sentence other than that of words, (it is not); there is the comprehension of the relation of the meanings of words; hence there is need for *pratiṣēdha*.

पदार्थादन्यस्यानुपलब्धिरिति चेत्, इदमुच्यते पदार्थाभिसम्बन्धस्योपलब्धिर्भवति वाक्ये

If it is said that there is nothing in the meaning of a sentence other than that of words, this has to be said that there is comprehension of the relation of the meanings of the words in a sentence.

इह देवदत्त इत्युक्ते कर्ता निर्दिष्टः, कर्म क्रियागुणौ चानिर्दिष्टौ

Here, if the word *Dēvadattaḥ* alone is read, the agent is expressed, and the object, the action, and the quality are not expressed.

गामित्युक्ते कर्म निर्दिष्टम्, कर्ता क्रियागुणौ चानिर्दिष्टौ

If the word *gām* alone is read, the object is expressed and the agent, the action and the quality are not expressed.

अभ्याज इत्युक्ते क्रिया निर्दिष्टा, कर्तृकर्मणी गुणश्चानिर्दिष्टः

If the word *abhyāja* alone is read, the action is expressed and the agent, the object and the quality are not expressed.

शुक्लाम् इत्युक्ते गुणो निर्दिष्टः, कर्तृकर्मणी क्रिया चानिर्दिष्टा

If the word *śuklām* alone is read, the quality is expressed and the agent, the object and the action are not expressed.

इहेदानीं देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम् इत्युक्ते सर्वं निर्दिष्टम् - देवदत्त एव कर्ता नान्यः, गामेव कर्म नान्यत्, अभ्याजैव क्रिया नान्या, शुक्लामेव न कृष्णाम् इति । एषां पदानां सामान्ये वर्तमानानां यद्विशेषेऽवस्थानं स वाक्यार्थः ।

If, then, the sentence *Dēvadatta gām abhyāja śuklām* is here read, everything is expressed; *Dēvadatta* alone is the agent

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and none else, cow alone is the object and none else, driving alone is the action and none else and the white cow alone and not the black one. The meaning of the sentence consists in connecting together the meanings of the words with the due relationship of one to another (both expressed and suggested).

NOTE :—The words *sāmānya* and *viśēṣa* here refer to the state of relation not being expressed and to the state of relation being expressed.

तस्मात्प्रतिषेधः । तस्मात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Hence is the need for the *pratiṣēdha* (i. e.) hence the *pratiṣēdha* has to be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यः No, it need not

अर्थवत्समुदायानां समासग्रहणं नियमार्थम्

Reading of *samāsa* is to restrict with reference to *arthavat-samudāya.*

अर्थवत्समुदायानां समासग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति, समास एवार्थवतां समुदायानां प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञो भवति नान्य इति ।

The mention of the word *samāsa* in the following *sūtra* is to restrict the application of the *saṁjñā* to the groups of words which have meaning thus :—Among the groups of words which possess meaning, compound word alone gets the *prātipadika-saṁjñā* and none else.

यदि नियमः क्रियते प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति - बहुपटवः, उच्चकैः, नीचकैः इति

If the *niyama* is done, there is no chance for the stem in the words *bahupaṭavaḥ*, *uccakāiḥ* and *nīcakāiḥ* which consist of a stem and a suffix to get the *prātipadikasaṁjñā*.

NOTE :—The word *bahupaṭavaḥ* has for its stem *bahupaṭu* which is formed with the stem *paṭu* with the *taddhita* suffix *bahu* being prefixed to it by the *sūtra Vibhāṣā supō bahuc purastāt tu* (5, 3, 68) and the words *uccakāiḥ* and *nīcakāiḥ* have for their stems *uccaka* and *nīcaka* which are formed from the

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stems *ucca* and *nīca* by the addition of the *taddhita* suffix *akac* by the *sūtra Avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ca ṭēḥ.*

किं पुनरत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञया प्रार्थ्यते ?

What is needed here through the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* ?

प्रातिपदिकादिति स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्यथा स्याद् इति

So that the case-suffix may be suffixed by the *sūtra Svaujas .... sup* (4, 1, 2) where there is *adhikāra* to *prātipadikāt* from the *sūtra Ṅyāp prātipadikāt* (4, 1, 1).

नैष दोषः ; यथैवात्राप्रातिपदिकत्वात् सुबुत्पत्तिर्न भवति एवं लुगपि न भविष्यति । तत्र यैवासावन्तर्वर्तिनी विभक्तिः तस्या एव श्रवणं भविष्यति ।

There is no harm here ; just as there is no chance for the case-suffix to be suffixed on account of its not being a *prātipadika*, so also the case-suffix is not dropped (by the *sūtra Avyayād āpsupaḥ* 2, 4, 32). The case-suffix that existed before the whole word was formed is heard.

NOTE :—*Īṣad ūnaḥ paṭavaḥ* becomes *bahupaṭavaḥ* and *uccāir ēva* becomes *uccakāiḥ.*

नैवं शक्यम् ; स्वरे दोषः स्यात् - बहुपटव इत्येवं स्वरः स्यात् ; बहुपटवं इति च इष्यते ।

This is not possible ; in that case the syllable *va* will become *udātta* ; but it is *ṭa* that is *udātta* in the word.

पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः 'चितः सप्रकृतेर्बह्वकजर्थम्' इति । तस्यां पुनर्लुप्तायां यान्या विभक्तिरुत्पद्यते तस्याः प्रकृत्यनेकदेशत्वाद् अन्तोदात्तत्वं न भविष्यति

Ācārya (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read the *vārttika Citaḥ saprakṛtēr bahvajartham* under the *sūtra Citaḥ* 6, 1, 163). There is no chance for the final syllable to become *udātta*, since the *vibhakti* that comes after the original *vibhakti* is dropped does not form a part of the *prakṛti.*

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, भवति प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा इति, यदयम् अप्रत्यय इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, स च तदन्तप्रतिषेधः ।

If so, the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the *samudāya* of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* gets the *prātipadikasaṁjñā*, since he reads

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in the *sūtra* the word of prohibition *apratyaya*; and *apratyaya* means that the *pratyayānta* does not get the *saṁjñā*.

NOTE :—Since the *pratyaya bahuc* is prefixed, the *samudāya* has the *prakṛti* at its end and hence it is *apratyayānta*. So also *uccakaiḥ* and *nīcakaiḥ* are *apratyayānta*, since the *pratyaya akac* is infixed in the *prakṛti*.

स तर्हि ज्ञापकार्थः प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Then the *pratyayapratiṣēdha* has to be read (in the form of *apratyayaḥ*) in the *sūtra* for the sake of *jñāpaka*.

ननु चायं प्राप्त्यर्थोऽपि वक्तव्यः

Oh! it has to be said even for the sake of *prāpti* (to those other than *pratyayāntas*).

नार्थः प्राप्त्यर्थेन । कृत्तद्धितग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति कृत्तद्धितान्तस्यैव प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भविष्यति नान्यस्य प्रत्ययान्तस्य इति ।

It is not necessary for the sake of *prāpti*. The mention of *kṛt* and *taddhita* is for the sake of *niyama*, so that *prātipadikasaṁjñā* may happen only to *kṛdanta* and *taddhitānta* and not to one that ends in any other *pratyaya*.

स एषोऽनन्यार्थः प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायस्य वा प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा वक्तव्या

Hence the word *apratyayaḥ* is to be read for the sake of the one purpose of acting as *jñāpaka* or the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* has to be enjoined to the *samudāya* of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*.

उभयं न वक्तव्यम् । तुल्यजातीयस्य नियमः

Both need not be mentioned. The *niyama* applies only to that which belongs to the same class.

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः ? What belongs to the same class ?

यथाजातीयकानां समासः

That which belongs to those that *samāsa* takes for its components.

कथंजातीयकानां समासः ?

Which does *samāsa* take for its components?

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सुबन्तानाम्

Samāsa is formed of those that end in case-suffixes.

सुप्तिङ्समुदायस्य तर्हि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

If so, *prātipadikasaṁjñā* chances to happen to the *samudāya* of *subanta* and *tiṅanta.*

सुप्तिङ्समुदायस्यापि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा आरभ्यते 'जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति [1]' इति । तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति एतस्यैव सुप्तिङ्समुदायस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवति, नान्यस्य इति

The *prātipadikasaṁjñā* is enjoined to the *samudāya* of *subanta* and *tiṅanta* in the supplement *Jahi karmaṇā bahulam ābhīkṣṇyē kartāram ca abhidadhīta.* It serves to restrict that the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* holds good only to that *samudāya* of *subanta* and *tiṅanta* as is mentioned there and to none else.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads thus:—*Bhāṣyē prātipadikasaṁjñā ārabhyatē ityasya tanmūlabhūtā samāsasaṁjñā ārabhyatē ityarthaḥ.*

तिङ्समुदायस्य तर्हि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

If so, *prātipadikasaṁjñā* chances to happen to the *samudāya* of *tiṅanta.*

तिङ्समुदायस्यापि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा आरभ्यते 'आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये इति [2] । तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति एतस्यैव तिङ्समुदायस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवति नान्यस्य इति ।

The *prātipadikasaṁjñā* is enjoined to the *samudāya* of *tiṅantas* in the supplement *Ākhyātam ākhyātēna kriyāsātatyē.* It serves to restrict the application of the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* only to those *samudāyas* of *tiṅantas* that are mentioned there and to none else.

III

अर्थवत्त्वं नोपपद्यते, केवलेनावचनात्

Arthavattvam is not plausible on account of the incapacity to denote anything by itself.

1. & 2. In the *gaṇapāṭha* under *Mayūravyaṁsakādayaśca* (2, 1, 72).

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अर्थवत्ता नोपपद्यते वृक्षशब्दस्य

The capacity of having a meaning is not plausible with reference to the stem *vṛkṣa*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

केवलेन अवचनात् । न केवलेन वृक्षशब्देन अर्थो गम्यते ।

On account of the incapacity to denote anything by itself. No meaning is discerned from the bare stem *vṛkṣa*.

केन तर्हि? By what then?

सप्रत्ययकेन By that which has a *pratyaya* attached to it.

न वा प्रत्ययेन नित्यसम्बन्धात् केवलस्याप्रयोगः

No; the non-use of the stem alone on account of its perpetual relationship with *pratyaya*.

न वैष दोषः This defect does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

प्रत्ययेन नित्यसम्बन्धात् । नित्यसम्बन्धौ एतावर्थौ प्रकृतिः प्रत्यय इति । प्रत्ययेन नित्यसम्बन्धात् केवलस्य प्रयोगो न भविष्यति ।

On account of the perpetual relationship with the *pratyaya*. The two things—stem and suffix—are perpetually related to each other. Since the stem is perpetually related to the *pratyaya*, the stem alone can never be used.

अन्यद् भवान् पृष्टोऽन्यद् आचष्टे । आम्रान् पृष्टः कोविदारान् आचष्टे । अर्थवत्ता नोपपद्यते केवलेनावचनाद् इति भवान् अस्माभिश्चोदितः, केवलस्याप्रयोगे हेतुमाह । एवं च किल नाम कृत्वा चोद्यते समुदायस्यार्थे प्रयोगादवयवानामप्रसिद्धिरिति ।

You are asked of one and you answer about another. You are asked of mango trees and you answer about *kōvidāra* trees. The objection that *arthavattvam* is not plausible on account of the incapacity to denote anything by itself is raised by us before you and you give out why it is not used alone. The objection is based on the fact that, since the whole is considered to have meaning, the part is not known to have any meaning.

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सिद्धं त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्याम् It is achieved from *anvaya* and *vyatirēka.*

सिद्धमेतत् The object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

अन्वयाद् व्यतिरेकाच्च From *anvaya* and *vyatirēka.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* explains them thus:—*Anvayaḥ=anugamaḥ=sati śabdē arthāvagamaḥ. Vyatirēkaḥ = śabdābhāvē tadarthānavagamaḥ.*

कोऽसौ अन्वयो व्यतिरेको वा? What is it - *anvaya* or *vyatirēka*?

इह वृक्षः इत्युक्ते कश्चिच्छब्दः श्रूयते वृक्षशब्दः अकारान्तः, सकारश्च प्रत्ययः। अर्थोऽपि कश्चिद् गम्यते मूलस्कन्धफलपलाशवान्, एकत्वं च। वृक्षौ इत्युक्ते कश्चिच्छब्दो हीयते, कश्चिदुपजायते, कश्चिदन्वयी - सकारो हीयते, औकार उपजायते, वृक्षशब्द अकारान्तोऽन्वयी। अर्थोऽपि कश्चिद्धीयते, कश्चिदुपजायते, कश्चिदन्वयी - एकत्वं हीयते, द्वित्वमुपजायते, मूलस्कन्धफलपलाशवान् अन्वयी।
When the word *vṛkṣaḥ* is read, the stem *vṛkṣa* ending in *a* is heard and also the *pratyaya s.* Certain meaning too is conveyed - one having roots, branches, fruits and leaves—and the idea of being one. When the word *vṛkṣāu* is read, a portion of the original word is omitted, something new is added and the stem remains as it was—*s* is dropped, *āu* is added and the stem *vṛkṣa* ending in *a* is *intact.* A portion of the meaning too is discarded, something is newly brought in and a portion remains as it was—The idea of *being one* is discarded, the idea of *being two* is newly brought in, and the idea of one having roots, branches, fruits and leaves remains undisturbed.

तेन मन्यामहे, यः शब्दो हीयते तस्यासावर्थो यो हीयते, यः शब्द उपजायते तस्यासावर्थो योर्थ उपजायते, यः शब्दोऽन्वयी तस्यासावर्थो योऽर्थोऽन्वयी इति
From this we infer that the portion of the word which is dropped has for it the meaning which has been discarded, that the newly added portion in the word has for it the meaning which is newly introduced and the portion of the word which remains *intact* has for it the meaning which remains unchanged.

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विषम उपन्यासः । बहवो हि शब्दा एकार्था भवन्ति, तद्यथा - इन्द्रः शक्रः पुरुहूतः पुरन्दरः, कन्दुः कोष्ठः कुसूल इति । एकश्च शब्दो बह्वर्थः, तद्यथा - अक्षाः पादा माषा इति ।

The argument is not sound. For there are many words which serve as synonyms :—viz. *indraḥ*, *śakraḥ*, *puruhūtaḥ* and *purandaraḥ* ; *kanduḥ*, *kōṣṭhaḥ* and *kusūlaḥ*. The same word too has many meanings :—viz. *akṣāḥ*, *pādāḥ* and *māṣāḥ*.

NOTE :—*Indra* and the following three words denote the lord of *Svarga* ; *kanduḥ* and the following two words denote granary ; the word *akṣāḥ* means axles, dice. etc. ; the word *pādāḥ* means feet, rays etc. ; and *māṣaḥ* means a bean, a particular weight of gold etc.

अतः किम्? न साधीयोऽर्थवत्ता सिद्धा भवति ?

What is gained from it ? Is not the *arthavattā* well established ?

न ब्रूमः अर्थवत्ता न सिध्यतीति, वर्णिता अर्थवत्ता अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामेव

We do not say that *arthavattā* is not established ; (but we question) whether the *arthavattā* explained above is only through *anvaya* and *vytirēka*.

तत्र कुत एतदयं प्रकृत्यर्थः, अयं प्रत्ययार्थ इति, न पुनः प्रकृतिरेवं उभावर्थौ ब्रूयात्, प्रत्यय एव वा?

What is the authority, then, to decide that this is the meaning of the stem and this is the meaning of the suffix and not to decide that both are the meanings of the stem or the suffix ?

सामान्यशब्दा एते एवं स्युः । सामान्यशब्दाश्च नान्तरेण विशेषं प्रकरणं वा विशेषेष्ववतिष्ठन्ते । यतस्तु खलु नियोगतो वृक्ष इत्युक्ते स्वभावतः कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे प्रतीतिरुपजायते, अतो मन्यामहे नेमे सामान्यशब्दा इति ; न चेत् सामान्यशब्दाः, प्रकृतिः प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते, प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययार्थे ।

In that case these will become *sāmānyaśabdas*. *Sāmānyaśabdas* cannot have a particular meaning unless it is decided through adjunct or context. Because, on the very mention of the word *vṛkṣa*, cognition of a certain meaning is naturally

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produced in the mind, we think that these are not *sāmānya-śabdas*. If they are not *sāmānyaśabdas*, stem has its own meaning and *pratyaya* has its own.

IV

किं पुनरिमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः, आहोस्विद् अनर्थकाः ?

Do, then, these letters have meaning or no ?

वर्णस्यार्थवदनर्थकत्वे उक्तम्

It has been decided whether letters have meaning or no.

किमुक्तम् ? What is the decision ?

अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनाद्, वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनाद्, वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः, सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च, सङ्घातस्यैकार्थत्वात् सुबभावो वर्णात् । अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेर्वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थ-दर्शनाद् इति ।

Letters have meaning, since there is meaning in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*, since there is change in meaning by the change in letters, since there is absence of that meaning in the absence of one letter, since the collection of letters has meaning and since the collection has one meaning so that case-suffixes are not used after each letter. Letters, on the other hand, have no meaning, since meaning is not had for every letter and the same meaning is present though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters.

तत्रेदमपरिहृतं सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च ।

There this—*Saṅghātārthavattvāc ca* was left unanswered.

तस्य परिहारः Answer to it.

सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्चेति चेद् दृष्टो ह्यतदर्थेन गुणेन गुणिनोऽर्थभावः

If it is said that letters have meaning on account of the collection having meaning, it is seen that the whole has meaning unconnected with that of the parts.

सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्चेति चेद् दृश्यते हि पुनरतदर्थेन गुणेन गुणिनोऽर्थभावः

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If it is said that letters have meaning on account of the collection having meaning, it is seen that the whole has meaning not connected with that of the parts.

तद्यथा - एकस्तन्तुः त्वक्त्राणेऽसमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च कम्बलः समर्थः । एकश्च तण्डुलः क्षुत्प्रतिघातेऽसमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च वर्द्धितकं समर्थम् । एकश्च बल्वजो बन्धनेऽसमर्थः, तत्समुदायश्च रज्जुः समर्था भवति

It is illustrated thus :—One thread is not capable of warding off the cold from the skin, while a woollen cloth made up of many threads is capable of doing it ; one particle of rice cannot remove hunger and a *varddhitaka* which is a collection of the particles of rice can do it. One grass-stem cannot bind (an object), while the rope, which is a collection of grass-stems, can do it.

विषम उपन्यासः The argument is not sound.

भवति हि तत्र या च यावती चार्थमात्रा ; भवति हि कश्चित् प्रत्येकस्तन्तुः त्वक्त्राणे समर्थः, एकश्च तण्डुलः क्षुत्प्रतिघाते समर्थः, एकश्च बल्वजो बन्धने समर्थः ।

Sometimes objects serve the purpose singly. Even a thread can ward off the cold from the skin of a certain person, one particle of rice can remove the hunger of a particular person or thing and even a grass-stem can bind certain things.

इमे पुनर्वर्णाः अत्यन्तमेवानर्थकाः

But these letters have absolutely no meaning.

यथा तर्हि रथाङ्गानि विहृतानि प्रत्येकं व्रजिक्रियां प्रत्यसमर्थानि भवन्ति, तत्समुदायश्च रथः समर्थः, एवमेषां वर्णानां समुदाया अर्थवन्तः अवयवा अनर्थका इति ।

Just as the parts of a chariot when disconnected cannot go from place to place and they, when connected, can go, so also the collections of words have meaning and the parts have no meaning.

NOTE :—The above topic is dealt with as the fourth topic under the *sūtra Hayavaraṭ* in the second *āhnika* in pp. 148—156 of Vol. I.

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V

निपातस्यानर्थकस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वम्

Injunction of *prātipadikatva* to meaningless *nipātas.*

निपातस्यानर्थकस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा वक्तव्या, खञ्जति निखञ्जति, लम्बते प्रलम्बते

There is need to enjoin the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* to meaningless *nipātas* like *khañjati, nikhañjati, lambatē* and *pralambatē.*

किं पुनरत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञया प्रार्थ्यते ?

What is it that is wanted here through *prātipadikasaṁjñā* ?

प्रातिपदिकाद् इति स्वाद्युत्पत्तिः, सुबन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा, पदस्य, पदाद् इति निघातो यथा स्यात्

The possibility of adding the case-suffixes by the *sūtra Svāujas...*(4, 1, 2) where there is *adhikāra* for *prātipadikāt*, of securing *padasaṁjñā* by the *sūtra Subantam padam* (1, 4, 14) and of securing *sarvānudāttatva* through the *sūtras* where there is *adhikāra* to *padasya* and *padāt.*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् No, this is not the benefit.

सत्यामपि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति

Even though there is *prātipadikasaṁjñā*, there is no chance for case-suffixes to be suffixed to them.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

न हि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायामेव स्वाद्युत्पत्तिः प्रतिबद्धा

The appearance of case-suffixes is not restricted only with reference to the *prātipadikasaṁjñā.*

किं तर्हि ? With reference to what then ?

एकत्वादिष्वप्यर्थेषु स्वादयो विधीयन्ते, न चैषामेकत्वादयः सन्ति

The case-suffixes are enjoined even with reference to the meaning of oneness etc. and the numbers have nothing to do with them.

नैष दोषः । अविशेषेणोत्पद्यन्ते ; उत्पन्नानां नियमः क्रियते

This difficulty does not arise. They are attached to the stems irrespective of their giving the meaning of oneness etc. Restriction in their meaning is done after they are attached.

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अथ वा प्रकृतानर्थानपेक्ष्य नियमः

Or the *niyama* in the choice of case-suffixes is adopted according to the contextual meaning.

के च प्रकृताः ? What do come under contextual meaning?

एकत्वादयः । एकस्मिन्नेवार्थ एकवचनं, न द्वयोर्न बहुषु ; द्वयोरेवार्थयोर्द्विवचनं, नैकस्मिन्न बहुषु ; बहुष्वेवार्थेषु बहुवचनं, नैकस्मिन्न द्वयोरिति ।

Oneness etc. Singular-number-suffix is used only to denote oneness and not to denote twoness or manyness ; dual-number-suffix is used only to denote twoness and not oneness or manyness ; and plural-number-suffix is used to denote manyness and not oneness or twoness.

अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति अनर्थकानामप्येतेषां भवत्यर्थवत्कृतमिति, यदयं "अधिपरी अनर्थकौ" इत्यनर्थकयोर्गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाबाधिकां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञां शास्ति

Or the procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that even these *nirarthakas* may behave like *sārthakas*, since he reads the *sūtra Adhiparī anarthakāu* (1, 4, 93) enjoining *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* setting at naught the *saṁjñās* of *gati* and *upasarga*.

NOTE :—*Mahābhāṣyakāra* tells us in the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra Adhiparī anarthakāu* that these *nipātas* are *dhātvarthānuvādakas*.[1] Hence *Kāiyaṭa* here says '*Na tu sarvātmanā arthābhāvāt*.' *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* adds '*Anēna ca jñāpakēna vārttikam pratyākhyāyatē*.

VI

किं पुनरयं पर्युदासो यदन्यत् प्रत्ययादिति, आहोस्वित् प्रसज्यायं प्रतिषेधः प्रत्ययो न इति ?

Is this (*apratyayaḥ*) *paryudāsa* so that it may mean *one other than pratyaya* or *prasajyapratiṣēdha* so that it may mean *pratyaya is not* ?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What will be the difference here?

अप्रत्यय इति चेत्तिबेकादेशे प्रतिषेधोऽन्तवत्त्वात्

1. धातुना उक्तां क्रियामाहतुः

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(Need for) *pratiṣēdha* in places where there is *ēkādēśa* of *tip*, it being considered to be the end, if it is taken as *paryudāsa*.

अप्रत्यय इति चेत् तिबेकादेशे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, काण्डे कुड्ये

If it is taken as *paryudāsa*, there is need to prohibit the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* when *tip* takes *ēkādēsa* with the preceding letter, as in the words *kāṇḍē* and *kuḍyē*.

Note :—*Tip* is the *pratyāhāra* from *ti* of the *sūtra Tiptasjhi* ... (3, 4, 78) to *p* of the *sūtra Svāujas* ... (4, 1, 2); (i. e.) it means verbal terminations and case-suffixes.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अन्तवत्त्वात् - तिबतिपोरेकादेशोऽतिपोऽन्तवत्स्यात् । अस्त्यन्यत्तिप इति कृत्वा प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

On account of its being the final—The *ēkādēśa* of *tip* and *atip* may be considered the final letter of the *atip*. Considering it to be one other than *tip*, there is chance for *prātipadikasaṁjñā* to appear there.

अस्तु तर्हि प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः, प्रत्ययो न इति

Then let it be *prasajyapratiṣēdha* in the sense *pratyaya is not*.

न प्रत्यय इति चेदूङेकादेशे प्रतिषेध आदिवत्त्वात्

If it is taken in the sense of '*pratyaya is not*', the *pratiṣēdha* operates when there is *ēkādēśa* of *ūṅ*, it being considered to be the initial.

न प्रत्यय इति चेदूङेकादेशे प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति, ब्रह्मबन्धूः

If it is taken in the sense of '*pratyaya is not*', the *pratiṣēdha* chances to operate where the *pratyaya ūṅ* takes *ēkādēśa* with the preceding letter, as in the word *brahmabandhūḥ*.

Note :—The *strīpratyaya ūṅ* is added to the word *brahmabandhu* by the *sūtra Ūṅ utaḥ* (4, 1, 66).

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

आदिवत्त्वात् - प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययोरेकादेशः प्रत्ययस्यादिवत्स्यात् । तत्र प्रत्ययो न इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ।

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On account of its being the initial—The *ēkādēśa* between *pratyaya* and *apratyaya* may be considered the *ādi* of the *pratyaya*. The *pratiṣēdha* chances to operate there by taking it to mean '*pratyaya is not.*

किं पुनरत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञया प्रार्थ्यते?

What is desired here through *prātipadikasaṁjñā*?

प्रातिपदिकाद् इति स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात्

So that the case-suffixes may be added by the *sūtra Svāujas ....* where there is *adhikāra* for *prātipadikāt*.

नैष दोषः। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति उत्पद्यन्ते ऊङन्तात् स्वादय इति, यदयं नोङ्धात्वोः इति विभक्तिस्वरस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति

This difficulty does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that case-suffixes come after *ūṇanta*, since he prohibits the *vibhaktisvara* (*udāttatva*) by the *sūtra Nōṅdhātvōḥ* (6, 1, 175).

अथ वा द्वे ह्यत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञे, अवयवस्यापि समुदायस्यापि। तत्रावयवस्य या प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा तया अन्तवद्भावात् स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्भविष्यति।

Or there are two *prātipadikasaṁjñās* here, one to the part and one to the whole. Case-suffixes are added here on the strength of the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* of the *avayava* through *antavadbhāva*.

सुब्लोपे च प्रत्ययलक्षणत्वात्

On account of *pratyayalakṣaṇatva* when there is elision of *sup* too.

सुब्लोपे च प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति - राजा, तक्षा। प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्रत्ययो न इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति।

When there is elision of case-suffix, there is chance for the *pratiṣēdha* through the dictum *Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* as in *rājā* and *takṣā*. The *prasajyapratiṣēdha*—that *pratyaya* is not—chances to operate through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

नैष दोषः। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्रतिषेधो भवति इति, यदयं न ङिसम्बुद्ध्योः इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति।

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This difficulty does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that the *pratiṣēdha* through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* does not operate, since he enjoins *pratiṣēdha* in the *sūtra Na ṅisambuddhyōḥ* (8, 2, 8).

अथ वा पुनरस्तु पर्युदासः Or let it be *paryudāsa* itself.

ननु चोक्तम् "अप्रत्यय इति चेत्तिबेकादेशे प्रतिषेधोऽन्तवत्त्वाद् इति

Oh it has been said that, if it is taken as *paryudāsa*, there is need for the mention of the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to the *ēkādēśa* of *tip*, it being considered final.

प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधेऽप्येष दोषः । द्वे ह्यत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञे अवयवस्यापि समुदायस्यापि । गृह्यते च प्रातिपदिकाप्रातिपदिकयोः एकादेशः प्रातिपदिकग्रहणेन

The same difficulty arises in *prasajyapratiṣēdha* also. There are two here which have the *prātipadikasaṁjñā*, the *avayava* and the *samudāya*. *Ēkādēśa* of *prātipadika* and *aprātipadika* is taken into account through the mention of *prātipadika*.

तस्मादुभाभ्यामपि वक्तव्यं स्यात् ह्रस्वो नपुंसके यत्तस्य इति

Hence this is to be said that what holds good with reference to the *hrasvatva* in *napuṁsaka* holds good in the two cases here.

NOTE:—Just as the mention of the word *prātipadikasya* in the *sūtra Hrasvō napuṁsakē prātipadikasya* (1, 2, 47) suggests that one should take the *mukhya-prātipadika*, so also here *mukhya-prātipadika* alone should be taken into account.

किं च नपुंसके?

What is here referred to by the expression—like the *napuṁsakaliṅga*?

नपुंसकं यस्य गुणः That whose *guṇa* is *napuṁsakatvam*.

कस्य च नपुंसकं गुणः Whose *guṇa* is then *napuṁsakatvam*?

प्रातिपदिकस्य Of *prātipadika*.

कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च (1, 2, 46)

समासग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the mention of *samāsa*?

समासग्रहण उक्तम्

It has been said with reference to the mention of *samāsa*.

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किमुक्तम्? What has been said?

अर्थवत्समुदायानां समासग्रहणं नियमार्थमिति

Mention of *samāsa* is to restrict the application of the *saṁñjā* among collection of words having meaning (p 85).

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य (1, 2, 47)

प्रातिपदिकग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What for is the mention of *prātipadikasya* in the *sūtra*?

नपुंसकह्रस्वत्वे प्रातिपदिकग्रहणं तिङ्निवृत्त्यर्थम्

Mention of *prātipadikasya* in the *sūtra Hrasvō* ... (1, 2, 47) is to preclude *tip* from its application.

नपुंसकह्रस्वत्वे प्रातिपदिकग्रहणं क्रियते

Mention is made of the word *prātipadikasya* in the *sūtra Hrasvō* ... *prātipadikasya.*

तिङ्निवृत्त्यर्थम् - तिबन्तस्य ह्रस्वत्वं मा भूत्, काण्डे, कुड्ये, रमते ब्राह्मणकुलम् इति

For the sake of precluding *tip*—so that shortening may not happen to that which ends in *tip*, as *kāṇḍē*, *kuḍyē* and *ramatē* in *ramatē brāhmaṇakulam*.

अव्ययप्रतिषेधः Prohibition in *avyayas*.

अव्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Prohibition has to be done with reference to *avyayas*.

इह मा भूत् - दोषा ब्राह्मणकुलम्, दिवा ब्राह्मणकुलम् इति

So that shortening may not take place in the words *dōṣā* and *divā* in *dōṣā brāhmaṇakulam* and *divā brāhmaṇakulam* (since *dōṣā* and *divā* are in apposition with *brāhmaṇakulam*).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads thus:—*Dōṣāsahacaritatvād brāhmaṇakulam ēva dōṣāśabdēna ucyatē iti hrasvaprasaṅgaḥ.*

स तर्हि वक्तव्यः It then has to be read.

न वक्तव्यः । नात्र अव्ययं नपुंसके वर्तते

No, it need not; *avyaya*, here, is not in apposition with *napuṁsakānta*.

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किं तर्हि ? What then ?

अधिकरणमत्र अव्ययं नपुंसकस्य

Avyaya here is the *adhikaraṇa* of *napuṁsakānta.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads thus :—*Dōṣāśabdō rātrāvityarthē vartatē ; divāśabdōspi ahanītyatra iti brāhmaṇakulasādhanānām kriyāṇām adhikaraṇam kālō bhavan brāhmaṇakulasya adhikaraṇam bhavati.*

इह तर्हि प्राप्नोति काण्डीभूतं वृषलकुलं, कुड्यीभूतं वृषलकुलम् इति

Here, then, it (shortening) chances to come—in *kāṇḍībhūtam* and *kuḍyībhūtam* in the expressions *kāṇḍībhūtam vṛṣalakulam* and *kuḍyībhūtam vṛṣalakulam* [1].

न वा लिङ्गाभावात् No, on account of the absence of *liṅga.*

न वा वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be mentioned.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

लिङ्गाभावात् · On account of the absence of *liṅga.*

अलिङ्गम् अव्ययम् *Avyaya* has no *liṅga.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :—*Asattvavācitvād avyayasya na tēna liṅgam pratipādyatē.*

किं पुनरयम् अव्ययस्यैव परिहारः आहोस्वित् तिबन्तस्यापि परिहारः ?

Does this serve as *parihāra* to *avyaya* alone or to *tibanta* also ?

तिबन्तस्यापि इत्याह " To *tibanta* also ", says he.

कथम् ? How ?

अव्ययं हि किञ्चिद्विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानं किञ्चित्क्रियाप्रधानम् । उच्चैः नीचैः इति विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानम् ; हिरुक् पृथग् इति क्रियाप्रधानम् । तिबन्तं चापि किञ्चिद् विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानं किञ्चित् क्रियाप्रधानम् । काण्डे कुड्ये इति विभक्त्यर्थप्रधानं, रमते ब्राह्मणकुलमिति क्रियाप्रधानम् ।

1. The *prkṛti* of *kāṇḍī* is *akāṇḍam* and *kāṇḍam* and both are *napuṁsaka.*

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For some *avyayas* prominently express the meaning of cases and some, the action. The words *uccāiḥ* and *nīcāiḥ* are *vibhaktyarthapradhāna* and the words *hiruk* and *pṛthak* are *kriyāpradhāna.* Some *tibantas* too are *vibhaktyarthapradhāna* and some are *kriyāpradhāna.* The words *kāṇḍē* and *kuḍyē* are *vibhaktyarthapradhāna* and the word *ramatē* in *ramatē brāhmaṇakulam* is *kriyāpradhāna.*

न चैतयोरर्थयोर्लिङ्गसङ्ख्याभ्यां योगोऽस्ति

These two things (*avyaya* and *tibanta*) have no *sambandha* with *liṅga* and *saṅkhyā* (number).

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here thus :—*Prāyēṇa iti śēṣaḥ. Tatra avyayārthasya kāṇḍē ityādēś ca ubhayāyōgaḥ, ramatē ityādēḥ liṅgāyōga iti bōdhyam.*

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्

This is necessarily to be so understood.

क्रियमाणेऽपि हि प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे इह प्रसज्येत, काण्डे कुड्ये । द्वे ह्यत्र प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञे, अवयवस्यापि समुदायस्यापि । गृह्यते च प्रातिपदिकाप्रातिपदिकयोरेकादेशः प्रातिपदिकग्रहणेन । तस्मादुभाभ्यामिति वक्तव्यं स्यात्, ह्रस्वो नपुंसके यत्तस्य इति

Even though the word *prātipadikasya* is read in the *sūtra*, it chances to come in *kāṇḍē* and *kuḍyē* ; for there are two which get the *prātipadikasaṁjñā*, the *avayava* and the *samudāya* and the *ēkādēśa* between *prātipadika* and *aprātipadika* is taken into account through the mention of *prātipadika.* Hence it should be said that what holds good with reference to *hrasvatva* in *napuṁsaka* holds good in the two cases here.

किं च नपुंसके ?

What is here referred to by the expression—like the *napuṁsakaliṅga* ?

नपुंसकं यस्य गुणः That whose *guṇa* is *napuṁsakatvam.*

कस्य च नपुंसकं गुणः Whose *guṇa* is then *napuṁsakatvam* ?

प्रातिपदिकस्य Of *prātipadika.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here thus :—*Sūtrakārēṇa tu prātipadikagrahaṇam mukhyaprātipadikaparigrahārtham kṛtam.*

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यञेकादेशदीर्घैत्त्वेषु प्रतिषेधः

(Need for) the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to the *dīrgha* and *ētva* of *ēkādēśa* before *sup* beginning with any letter of the *pratyāhāra yañ*.

यञेकादेशदीर्घैत्त्वेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, युगवरत्राय युगवरत्रार्थं युगवरत्रेभ्यः

Prohibition should be stated with reference to the *dīrgha* and *ētva* of *ēkādēśa* before *sup* beginning with any letter of the *pratyāhāra yañ*, as in *yugavaratrāya*, *yugavaratrārtham* and *yugavaratrēbhyaḥ*.

यञेकादेशदीर्घैत्त्वेषु बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात्सिद्धम्

It is achieved on account of the *dīrgha* and *ētva* of *ēkādēśa* before *yañ* being *bahiraṅga*.

बहिरङ्गा एते विधयः, अन्तरङ्गं ह्रस्वत्वम् । असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे

These *vidhis* (enjoining *dīrgha* and *ētva*) are *bahiraṅga* and the *sūtra* enjoining *hrasvatva* is *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is considered to be non-existent when *antaraṅgasūtra* operates.

उपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वे च

With reference to the *hrasvatva* of *upasarjana* also.

किम्? What?

यञेकादेशदीर्घैत्त्वेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः अतिखट्वाय, अतिखट्वार्थम्, अतिखट्वेभ्यः

Prohibition should be stated with reference to the *dīrgha* and *ētva* of *ēkādēśa* of the *upasarjanahrasva* before *sup* commencing with any letter of the *pratyāhāra yañ*.

उपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वे च Even with reference to *upasarjanahrasva*.

किम्? What?

बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् सिद्धमित्येव । बहिरङ्गा एते विधयः, अन्तरङ्गं ह्रस्वत्वम् । असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे

It is achieved of their being *bahiraṅga*. These *vidhis* are *bahiraṅga* and *hrasvatvam* is *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is *asiddha* before *antaraṅgaśāstra*.

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गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य (1, 2, 48)

Vārttikakāra suggests one alteration in the *sūtra* and four additions to it and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* opines that all but the first addition suggested are unnecessary and arrives at their result in other ways.

गोटाङ्ग्रहणँ कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम्

Mention of *gōṭāṅ* in the *sūtra* is to avoid *kṛtpratyaya.*

गोटाङ्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

It is necessary to read *gōṭāṅōḥ* in the *sūtra* in place of *gōstriyōḥ*.

किमिदं टाङ् इति ? What is this—*ṭāṅ* ?

प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् It is a *pratyāhāra*.

क सन्निविष्टानां प्रत्याहारः ? Of whose *pratyāhāra* is it ?

टापः प्रभृति आ ष्यङो ङकारात्

From *ṭā* in *ṭāp* (in the *sūtra Ajādyataṣ ṭāp* 4, 1, 4) to *ṅ* in *ṣyaṅ* (in the *sūtra Aṇiñōḥ ... ṣyaṅ gōtrē* 4, 1, 78).

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the use of the alteration ?

कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम् - कृत्स्त्रिया धातुस्त्रियाश्च ह्रस्वत्वं मा भूत् इति अतितन्त्रीः, अतिश्रीः, अतिलक्ष्मीः इति

So that the *kṛtpratyayas* denoting *strītva* may be avoided—So that the *kṛtpratyayas* and *dhātupratyayas* which denote *strītva* need not be shortened, in *atitantrīḥ, atiśrīḥ* and *atilakṣmīḥ*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, since *dhātustrīpratyayas* too are *kṛtpratyayas*, *Vārttikakāra* mentioned only *kṛt* in the *vārttika* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* explains it as *kṛtstriyāḥ* and *dhātustriyāḥ*.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, should be read.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not.

स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवति । स्त्रियाम् इत्येवं प्रकृत्य ये विहिताः तेषां ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते ।

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The word *strī* in the *sūtra* is read with *svaritasvara*. Through *svarita*, it will be suggested that there is *adhikāra*. From it, it will be understood that only those *pratyayas* are taken into account which are read after the *adhikārasūtra Striyām* (6, 1, 3).

स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति । यद्येवं प्रत्ययग्रहणमिदं भवति ; तत्र प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवतीति इह न प्राप्नोति, अतिराजकुमारिः अतिसेनानीकुमारिः इति ।

It will be free from defect when the *pratyayas* are taken into account which are read after the *adhikārasūtra Striyām* through *svaritatva*. But if it is taken in that manner, it will come under the *adhikāra* of the *sūtra Pratyayaḥ* (3, 1, 1); consequently on the strength of the dictum '*Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa tadādēr grahaṇam bhavati*' shortening will not take place in the words *ati-rāja-kumāriḥ* and *ati-sēnānīkumāriḥ*.

अस्त्रीप्रत्ययेन इत्येवं तत्

Shortening takes place since that dictum is concerned only with *pratyayas* other than *strīpratyaya*.

ईयसो बहुव्रीहौ पुंवद्वचनम्

Need for *puṁvadbhāva* with reference to *īyas* in *bahuvrīhi*.

ईयसो बहुव्रीहौ पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः - बह्व्यः श्रेयस्यः अस्य बहुश्रेयसी, विद्यमानश्रेयसी ।

There is need for *puṁvadbhāva* with reference to *īyas* in *bahuvrīhi*, so that shortening may not take place in *bahuśrēyasī* whose *vigrahavākya* is *bahvyaḥ śrēyasyaḥ asya* and in *vidyamānaśrēyasī*.

पूर्वपदस्य च प्रतिषेधो गोसमासनिवृत्त्यर्थम्

Pratiṣēdha of *pūrvapada* too for the sake of avoiding the operation of the rule in *gō* and *samāsa*.

पूर्वपदस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

There is need to prohibit the operation of the rule with reference to *pūrvapada*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

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गोसमासानिवृत्त्यर्थम्, गोनिवृत्त्यर्थं समासनिवृत्त्यर्थं च

For the sake of avoiding the operation in *gō* and *samāsa.*

गोनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत् - गोकुलं; गोक्षीरं, गोपालक इति

Firstly for the sake of avoiding the shortening in *gō* in the words *gōkulam*, *gōkṣīram* and *gōpālakaḥ*.

समासनिवृत्त्यर्थम् - राजकुमारीपुत्रः, सेनानीकुमारीपुत्र इति

For the sake of avoiding the shortening in *samāsa* in the words *rāja-kumārī-putraḥ* and *sēnānī-kumārī-putraḥ.*

किमुच्यते समासनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति, न पुनरसमासोऽपि किञ्चित्पूर्वपदं यदर्थः प्रतिषेधः स्यात्?

Why is it said *samāsanivṛttyartham*? Is there not *pūrvapada* in *asamāsa* which should be free from the operation of this rule?

स्त्र्यन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्योपसर्जनस्य ह्रस्वो भवतीत्युच्यते । न चान्तरेण समासं स्त्र्यन्तं प्रातिपदिकमुपसर्जनमस्ति ।

It is said that shortening takes place to the *prātipadika* which has at its end *strīpratyaya* which is *upasarjana* and *stryanta-prātipadika* is not *upasarjana* unless it is in *samāsa*.

ननु चेदमस्ति खट्वापादो मालापाद इति । एकादेशे कृते अन्तादिवद्भावात् प्राप्नोति

Oh! there is this—*khaṭvāpādaḥ* and *mālāpādaḥ*. After *ēkādēśa* is done, it chances to come through *antādivadbhāva.*

उभयत आश्रयणे नान्तादिवत्

Antādivadbhāva cannot be resorted to, since both (*prātipadikam* and *strīpratyaya*) are taken into account.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :—*Yadi prātipadikasya antavat tadā strīpratyayaḥ parō nāsti ; atha strīpratyayasya ādivat tadā prātipadikatvābhāvaḥ.*

गोनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावान्नार्थः, गोन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्योपसर्जनस्य ह्रस्वो भवतीत्युच्यते, न चैतद् गोन्तम्

Firstly there is no use of saying *gōnivṛttyartha*; for it is said that shortening takes place to the *prātipadika* which is *upasarjana* and which is *gōnta* and this is not *gōnta*.

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ननु चैतदपि व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन गोन्तम्

Oh! this too may be *gōnta* through *vyapadēśivadbhāva.*

व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन

Vyapadēśivadbhāva is not with reference to *prātipadika.*

समासनिवृत्त्यर्थेन चापि नार्थः

There is no use of saying *samāsanivṛttyartha* too.

स्त्र्यन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्योपसर्जनस्य ह्रस्वो भवतीत्युच्यते । प्रधानमुपसर्जनमिति च सम्बन्धिशब्दावेतौ । तत् सम्बन्धादेतद् गन्तव्यं 'यं प्रति यदप्रधानं तस्य चेत् सोऽन्तो भवतीति ।

It is said that shortening takes place to the *prātipadika* which is *upasarjana* and *stryanta.* The words *pradhānam* and *upasarjanam* are related ones. Hence this is to be understood through *sambandha* that it takes place if it becomes the *anta* of that in relation to which it is *apradhāna.*

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्

This is to be necessarily so understood.

उच्यमानेऽपि हि प्रतिषेध इह प्रसज्येत पञ्च कुमार्यः प्रिया अस्य पञ्चकुमारीप्रियः, दशकुमारीप्रियः

Even if *pratiṣēdha* is mentioned, it chances to come in *pañcakumārī-priyaḥ* whose *vigrahavākya* is *pañca kumāryaḥ priyā asya* and *daśakumārīpriyaḥ.*

कपि च With reference to the *pratyaya kap* too.

कपि च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः

There is need for prohibition with reference to *kap,* so that shortening may not take place in *bahukumārīkaḥ* and *bahuvṛṣalīkaḥ.*

द्वन्द्वे च With reference to *dvandva* too.

द्वन्द्वे च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ

There is need for prohibition with reference to *dvandva* so that shortening may not take place in *kukkuṭamayūryāu.*

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[1] उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered?

कपि तावदुक्तं 'न कपि' इति प्रतिषेधः इति

It has been said with reference to *kap* that *pratiṣēdha* is mentioned in the *sūtra Na kapi* (7, 4, 14).

नैतदस्त्युक्तम्[2] । केऽणः इति या ह्रस्वप्राप्तिः तस्याः प्रतिषेध इति ।

It cannot be said that it has been answered. The *sūtra Na kapi* (7, 4, 14) prohibits the shortening enjoined in the *sūtra Kēsṇaḥ* 7, 4, 13).

कुत एतत् ? On what authority is it so taken?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति

By the dictum which says that *vidhi* or *pratiṣēdha* has reference only to that which is in the immediate neighbourhood.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते या च यावती च ह्रस्वप्राप्तिस्तस्याः सर्वस्याः प्रतिषेध इति, इहापि तस्य प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत - प्रियं ग्रामणि ब्राह्मणकुलम् अस्य प्रियग्रामणिकः, प्रियसेनानिकः

It is necessarily to be so understood. If one thinks that the *sūtra Na kapi* operates to prohibit the shortening which takes place through the influence of all *sūtras* which enjoin it, it chances to operate even here in *priya-grāmaṇikaḥ* whose *vigrahavākya* is *priyam grāmaṇi brāhmaṇakulam asya* and in *priyasēnānikaḥ*.

इदं तर्हि उक्तम्, कपि कृते अनन्त्यत्वात् ह्रस्वत्वं न भविष्यति

This is then said that after *kap* comes in (by the *sūtra Nadyṛtaś ca* (5, 4, 153), there is no chance for the shortening, since it is not final.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - कप् क्रियतां, ह्रस्वत्वम् इति

This is, here, to be decided, whether *kap* first comes in or shortening.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम् ? Which is to precede here?

1. This is a *vārttika* in the Bombay edition.
2. एतद् उक्तम् इति नास्ति is the *anvaya*.

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परत्वात् कप् *Kap* comes in since the *sūtra* enjoining it is *para*.

अन्तरङ्गं ह्रस्वत्वम्

Shortening is *antaraṅga* (and hence the *sūtra* enjoining it should have precedence in operation).

अन्तरङ्गतरः कप्

The *sūtra* enjoining *kap* is *antaraṅgatara* (and hence the *sūtra* enjoining it should have precedence in operation).

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* here says :— *Avayavāpēkṣatvāt kapaḥ samudāyāpēkṣō hrasvō bahiraṅgaḥ Nagōjibhaṭṭa* supplements it thus :— *Avayavāpēkṣatvāt ityasya avayavagataprātipadikasaṁjñāpēkṣatvād ityarthaḥ ... Samudāyāpēkṣa ityasya samudāyagataprātipadikatvāpēkṣa ityarthaḥ. Evañ ca samāsasaṁjñāpēkṣasamudāyagataprātipadikāt pūrvam ēva samāsānta iti antaraṅgatara iti bhāvaḥ.*

[1] ननु चायं कप् समासान्त इत्युच्यते

Oh, this *kap* is said to be the *avayava* of *samāsa*.

तादर्थ्यात् ताच्छब्द्यं भविष्यति

It is so said since it is intended for it.

येषां पदानां समासः न तावत्तेषामन्यद् भवति, कपं तावत् प्रतीक्षते

Nothing else comes in to the words which compound into a *samāsa* and it expects *kap*.

द्वन्द्वेऽप्युक्तम्

It has been answered even with reference to *dvandva*.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered ?

परवल्लिङ्गमिति शब्दशब्दार्थौ [2] इति । तत्र औपदेशिकस्य ह्रस्वत्वम् आतिदेशिकस्य श्रवणं भविष्यति ।

It has been said—*paravat liṅgam śabdaśabdārthāu* and hence shortening takes place to *upadiṣṭa* (what is read) and the same form remains without its being shortened to *atidiṣṭa* (what is got through analogy).

1. न चायं कप् is another reading.
2. This is a *vārttika* under 2-4-26.

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लुक्ताद्धितलुकि (1, 2, 49)

ताद्धितलुक्यवन्त्यादीनां प्रतिषेधः

(Need for) the *pratiṣēdha* of *avantī* etc. at *taddhita-luk.*

तद्धितलुक्यवन्त्यादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरूः

There is need to enjoin the *pratiṣēdha* when there is elision of *taddhita-pratyaya* with reference to *avantī, kuntī, kurūḥ.*

NOTE:—The words *avantī* and *kuntī* take *ñyaṅ* by the *sūtra Vṛddhēt-kōsalājādāñ ñyaṅ* (4, 1, 171) and *kuru* takes *ṅya* by the *sūtra Kurunādibhyō ṇyaḥ* (4, 1, 172) and both *ñyaṅ* and *ṇya* are dropped by the *sūtra Striyām avanti-kunti-kurubhyaś ca* (4, 1, 176) and they take *ṅīṣ* by the *sūtra Itō manuṣyajātēḥ* (4, 1, 65) and *ūṅ* by the *sūtra Ūṅ utaḥ* (4, 1, 66).

तद्धितलुक्यवन्त्यादीनामप्रतिषेधोऽलुक्परत्वात्

Non-need of *pratiṣēdha* of *avantī* etc. with reference to *taddhita-luk*, on account of their not being followed by *luk.*

तद्धितलुकि अवन्त्यादीनाम् अप्रतिषेधः

Non-need of *pratiṣēdha* of *avantī* etc. at *taddhita-luk.*

अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधः अप्रतिषेधः

The word *apratiṣēdha* means non-need of *pratiṣēdha.*

लुक् कस्मान्न भवति ? Why does not *luk* set in ?

अलुक्परत्वात् । लुकि इत्युच्यते, न चात्र लुकं पश्यामः

On account of its not being followed by *luk.* There is the word *luki* in the *sūtra* and we do not see any *luk* here.

NOTE:—The *strīpratyayas* have come here only after the elision of *taddhitapratyaya* and not before it.

लुकि इति नैषा परसप्तमी शक्या विज्ञातुम् । न हि लुका पौर्वापर्यमस्ति ।

The word *luki* need not be interpreted to be *parasaptamī*; for there is no *pāurvāparya* in association with *luk.*

का तर्हि ? What then ?

सत्सप्तमी, लुकि सति इति

It is *sat-saptamī* in the sense of *luki sati.*

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सत्सप्तमी चेत् प्राप्नोति

If it is *sat-saptamī*, there is need for *pratiṣēdha*.

एवं तर्हि इदमिह व्यपदेश्यं सद् आचार्यो न व्यपदिशति

When there is thus need for the mention of it, *Ācārya* does not mention it.

किम्? Why?

उपसर्जनस्येति वर्तते इति । न च जातिरुपसर्जनम्

There is *anuvṛtti* for *upasarjanasya* in the *sūtra* (where it is a *viśeṣaṇa* to the *strīpratyaya*). Here the *strīpratyaya* used to denote *jāti* is not *upasarjana*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Apradhānam ca iha upasarjanam gṛhyatē, na śāstrīyam, asambhavāt.*

इद्गोण्याः (1, 2, 50)

इद्गोण्या नेति वक्तव्यम्

'*Gōṇyā na*' is to be read in place of '*Id gōṇyāḥ*'.

गोण्या न इत्येव सिद्धम्, नार्थ इत्त्वेन

The object is accomplished by reading the *sūtra* thus—*Gōṇyā na*; no purpose is seved by the mention of *it*.

का रूपसिद्धिः, पञ्चगोणिः दशगोणिः ?

How can the forms *pañcagōṇiḥ* and *daśagōṇiḥ* be secured?

ह्रस्वता हि विधीयते For shortening is enjoined.

ह्रस्वत्वमत्र विधीयते गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य इति

Shortening is enjoined here in the *sūtra Gōstriyōr upasarjanasya.*

इति वा वचने तावत्

What is the difference even when *it* is mentioned?

इद् इत्येवोच्येत नेति वा को न्वत्र विशेषः

Let the *sūtra* be read *Id gōṇyāḥ* or *Gōṇyā na.* What will be the difference?

मात्रार्थं वा कृतं भवेत्

The *sūtra* may have been read only when *mātrac* is dropped.

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अथ वा मात्रार्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् - गोणीमात्रमिदं गोणिः

Or this *sūtra* is to be read only for the sake of *mātrac*, so that *gōṇiḥ* may mean *gōṇīmātram*.

अपर आह Another says :

गोण्या इत्त्वं प्रकरणात् *Ittva* of *gōṇī* from the context.

अशिष्यं गोण्या इत्त्वम् *Ittva* of *gōṇī* need not be enjoined.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

प्रकरणात् । प्रकृतं ह्रस्वत्वम् । ह्रस्व इति वर्तते

From the context. Shortening is secured from the context. There is *anuvṛtti* for the word *hrasva*.

न तु सूच्याः

There is no chance for *ittva* with reference to *sūcī*.

सूच्याद्यर्थमथापि वा Or for the sake of *sūcī*.

सूच्याद्यर्थमिदं द्रष्टव्यम् - पञ्चसूचिः, दशसूचिः

This is to be said for the sake of *sūcī* etc. so that the forms *pañcasūciḥ* and *daśasūciḥ* can be secured.

इद्गोण्या नेति वक्तव्यं ह्रस्वता हि विधीयते ।
इति वा वचने तावन्मात्रार्थं वा कृतं भवेत् ।
गोण्या इत्त्वं प्रकरणात् सूच्याद्यर्थमथापि वा ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने [1] (1, 2, 51)

व्यक्तिवचने इति किमर्थम् ?

What for is the expression *vyaktivacanē* ?

NOTE :—The words *yukta*, *vyakti* and *vacana* are the *saṁjñās* of *Pāṇini's* predecessors for *prakṛti* (stem), *liṅga* (gender) and *sāṅkhyā* (number).

1. Pawate considers this to be a *sūtra* of an *ācārya* anterier to *Pāṇini* and *Pāṇini* expresses it to be unnecessary by his *sūtrā* *Tad aśiṣyam Saṁjñā-pramāṇatvāt* (1-2-50). *Cf.* Vol. I p. XX.

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शिरीषाणामदूरभवो ग्रामः शिरीषाः, तस्य ग्रामस्य वनं शिरीषवनम्.

The word *śirīṣavanam* is the *samāsa* of *śirīṣasya vanam*, where *śirīṣāḥ* means the village close to *śirīṣa* creepers.

किं च स्यात्? What too will happen?

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः इति णत्वं प्रसज्येत

There is chance for *n* to change to *ṇ* in the word *śirīṣavanam* on the strength of the *sūtra Vibhāṣā ōṣadhivanaspatibhyaḥ* (8, 4, 6).

NOTE :—The mention of *vyaktivacanē* suggests that the word where *lup* is dropped takes only the gender and the number of the *prakṛti* and none else.

अपर आह कटुकबदर्या अदूरभवो ग्रामः कटुकबदरी, षष्ठी युक्तवद्भावेन मा भूद् इति ।

Another says that the sixth case may not be taken through *atidēśa* of that of the *prakṛti* in *kaṭukabadarī* which means the village not far from the place where *kaṭuka* and *badarī* are found.

अथ व्यक्तिवचने इत्यप्युच्यमाने कस्मादेवात्र न भवति, षष्ठ्यपि हि वचनम्?

Even when *vyaktivacanē* is mentioned, how is it that it does not happen here, *ṣaṣṭhī* too being *vacana* ?

नेदं पारिभाषिकस्य वचनस्य ग्रहणम् ।

The *pāribhāṣika-vacana* is not referred to here.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Ēkavacanādi-saṁjñā-vidhāna-kālē anu-niṣpādī vacanasabdōspi saṁjñātvēna niyukta iti pratyayaḥ pāribhaṣikam vacanam ucyatē.*

किं तर्हि? What then ?

अन्वर्थग्रहणम् - उच्यते वचनमिति

It is used in its derivative sense and the derivation of *vacanam* is *ucyatē iti.*

एवमपि षष्ठी प्राप्नोति, षष्ठ्यपि ह्युच्यते

Even under this criterion there is chance for *ṣaṣṭhī*, since *ṣaṣṭhī* too is read.

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लुपोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम्

Since that meaning has been expressed by that which was in association with *lup*, it cannot be repeated.

किं कारणम्? Why?

उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति

From the dictum that there is no repetition of those which have already been expressed.

आतिदेशिकी तर्हि प्राप्नोति ।

Ṣaṣṭhī through *atidēśa* has, then, a chance to appear.

एवं तर्हि If so,

प्रागपि वृत्तेर्युक्तं वृत्तं चापीह यावता युक्तम् ।
वक्तुश्च कामचारः प्राग्वृत्तेर्लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये ये ॥

Prakṛti has its *artha* both before it is associated with *pratyaya* and after it is associated with it. Hence it is left to the sweet will of the user to take by *atidēśa* the *liṅga* and *saṅkhyā* that existed before the *prakṛti* is associated with *pratyaya* or after it is associated with it.

प्रागपि वृत्तेर्युक्तं वनस्पतिभिर्नगरम्, वृत्तञ्चापि युक्तं वनस्पतिभिर्नगरम् ।

Nagara is associated with *vanaspati* even before the *prakṛti* became associated with *pratyaya* and *nagara* is associated with *vanaspati* even after the *prakṛti* became associated with *pratyaya*.

वृत्ते च युक्तवद्भावो विधीयते

The *prakṛtivadbhāva* is enjoined after the *prakṛti* became associated with *pratyaya*.

कामचारश्च प्रयोक्तुः - प्राग्वृत्तेर्ये लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये ते अतिदेष्टुम्, वृत्तस्य वा ये लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये ते

It is left to the sweet will of the *prayōktā* to take by *atidēśa* the *liṅga* and the *saṅkhyā* which existed before the stem was associated with *pratyaya* or after it is associated with it.

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यावता कामचारः, वृत्तस्य ये लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये ते अतिदेक्ष्येते, न प्राग् वृत्तेर्ये

Since it is *kāmacāra*, there is *atidēśa* for the *liṅga* and the *saṅkhyā* which existed after the *prakṛti* was associated with the *pratyaya* and not with those which existed before the *prakṛti* was associated with the *pratyaya*.

अथ वा प्राग्वृत्तेर्ये लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये ते अतिदेक्ष्येते

Or there is *atidēśa* for the *liṅga* and the *saṅkhyā* which existed before the *prakṛti* was associated with the *pratyaya*.

षष्ठी कस्मान्न भवति Why is there no *atidēśa* for the *ṣaṣṭhī*?

सामान्यातिदेशे विशेषानतिदेशः

When there is *atidēśa* for the general characteristics, there is no *atidēśa* for the particular?

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What for is this resorted to?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here thus:—*Antarēṇāpyatidēśam liṅgasaṅkhyē siddhē, yathā āpō dāra ityādāu iti praśnaḥ*.

अन्यत्राभिधेयस्य व्यक्तिवचनभावाल्लुपि युक्तवदनुदेशः

There is *atidēśa* (of the *liṅga* and the *saṅkhyā*) of the *prakṛti* when there is *lup* on account of its existence of those of the *viśēṣya* in other places.

अन्यत्र अभिधेयवल्लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति

Liṅga and *vacana* as they are found in the *viśēṣya* are seen in other places which are *atidiṣṭa*.

क्वान्यत्र ? To which do you refer by the expression *anyatra*?

लुकि ; लवणः सूपः, लवणा यवागूः, लवणं शाकम् इति

When there is *luk*; as in the expressions *lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ* (saltish sauce), *lavaṇā yavāgūḥ* (saltish *yavāgu*) and *lavaṇam śākam* (saltish vegetable)

अन्यत्राभिधेयवद्व्यक्तिवचनानि भवन्ति लुकि । इहाप्यभिधेयवल्लिङ्गवचनानि प्राप्नुवन्ति । इष्यन्ते चाभिधानवत्स्युरिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यतीति लुपि युक्तवदनुदेशः

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There is *atidēśa* of the *liṅga* and the *saṅkhyā* of the *viśēṣya* in other places as when there is *luk*. Here too there is chance for the same. It is desired here that there should be the *atidēśa* of the *liṅga* and the *asṅkhyā* of the *abhidhāna* or the *prakṛti*. It cannot be achieved without effort. Hence is this:—*lupi yuktavad anudēśaḥ*.

एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते This is read only with this purpose in view.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? What then?

लुपोऽदर्शनसंज्ञित्वादर्थगतिर्नोपपद्यते

The meaning is not comprehended on account of the *saṁjñin* of *lup* being *adarśana*.

लुब्नामेयमदर्शनस्य संज्ञा क्रियते। न चादर्शनस्य लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये शक्येते अतिदेष्टुम्। लुपोऽदर्शनसंज्ञित्वाद् अर्थगतिर्नोपपद्यते।

Lup is made the *saṁjñā* of *adarśana*. It is not possible for *adarśana* to take *liṅga* and *saṅkhyā* through analogy. Since *adarśana* is the *saṁjñin* of *lup*, the meaning cannot be comprehended.

न वादर्शनस्याशक्यत्वादर्थगतिः साहचर्यात्

No, there is comprehension of meaning through *sāhacarya* on account of the incapacity of *adarśana* to take *liṅga* and *saṅkhyā*.

न वैष दोषः No, this difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अदर्शनस्य अशक्यत्वात् - अदर्शनस्य लिङ्गसङ्ख्ये अशक्ये अतिदेष्टुमिति कृत्वा - अदर्शनसहचरितो योऽर्थस्तस्य गतिर्भविष्यति, साहचर्यात्

On account of the incapacity of *adarśana*. Taking into account that it is not possible for the *atidēśa* of the *liṅga* and the *saṅkhyā* with reference to *adarśana*, there is comprehension of the meaning of that which is in association with *adarśana* on account of close association.

योगाभावाच्चान्यस्य

On account of the absence of *yōga* with another.

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अन्यस्य अदर्शनेन योगो नास्तीति कृत्वा अदर्शनसहचरितो योऽर्थः तस्य गतिर्भविष्यति, साहचर्यात्

Since it is not possible for another to have association with *adarśana*, there is comprehension of the meaning of that which is associated with it, on account of close association.

समास उत्तरपदस्य बहुवचनस्य लुपः [1]

To the *uttarapada* in *samāsa* when there is *lup* to the *bahuvacana*.

समासे उत्तरपदस्य बहुवचनस्य लुपो युक्तवद्भावो वक्तव्यः - मधुरापञ्चालाः

There is need to mention *yuktavad-bhāva* when there is *lup* to the *bahuvacana* of the second member in compound, as in *madhurā-pañcālāḥ*.[2]

किं प्रयोजनम्? What for is it?

नियमार्थम् । समास उत्तरपदस्यैव

For the sake of *niyama*. *Yuktavad-bhāva* is only with reference to the second member in compound.

क्व मा भूत्? Where should it not operate?

पञ्चालमधुरे इति

As in *pañcālamadhurē* (i.e.) if there is no *lup* in the second member.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः (1, 2, 52)

कथमिदं विज्ञायते - जातिर्यद् विशेषणम् इति, आहोस्विद् जातेर्यानि विशेषणानि इति?

How is this interpreted: is it in the way that there is *yuktavad-bhāva* to the *jāti* which is *viśēṣaṇa* or in the way that it is to those which are *viśēṣaṇas* to the *jāti*.

किं चातः?

What will be the result if it is the one or the other?

1. Some additions read *niyamārtham* at the end.
2. *Madhurāpañcālāh* is a *dvandva* compound of *madhurā* (name of a city) and *pañcālāḥ* (the inhabitants of the country of *Pāñcāla*).

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यदि विज्ञायते जातिर्यद् विशेषणमिति, सिद्धं पञ्चाला जनपद इति, सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपानीयः बहुमाल्यफलः इति न सिद्ध्यति । अथ विज्ञायते जातेर्यानि विशेषणानि इति, सिद्धं सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपानीयो बहुमाल्यफलः इति, पञ्चाला जनपद् इति न सिध्यति

If it is interpreted that it is to the *jāti* which is *viśēṣaṇa*, the expression *pancālājanapadaḥ* becomes grammatically correct and not the expression *subhikṣaḥ sampannapānīyaḥ bahumālyaphalaḥ*. On the other hand, if it is interpreted that it is to those which are *viśēṣaṇas* to the *jāti*, the expression *subhikṣaḥ sampannapānīyaḥ bahumālyaphalaḥ* becomes grammatically correct and not *pañcālājanapadaḥ*.

एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते जातिर्यद् विशेषणम् इति, नापि जातेर्यानि विशेषणानि इति

If so, the *sūtra* is neither interpretated in the manner *jātir yad viśēṣaṇam tad yuktavad bhavati* nor in the manner *jātēr yāni viśēṣaṇāni tāni yuktavad bhavanti*.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

विशेषणानां युक्तवद्भावो भवति आ जातेः - आजातिप्रयोगात्

There is *yuktavadbhāva* to the *viśēṣaṇas* till the *jāti* is used.

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What for is this said ?

विशेषणानां वचनं जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्

Mention of *viśēṣaṇānām* to ward off *jāti*.

जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थोऽयमारम्भः This attempt is to ward off *jāti*.

किमुच्यते जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं इति, न पुनर्विशेषणानामपि युक्तवद्भावो यथा स्याद इति ?

Why is it said that it is to ward off *jāti* and not to assign *yuktavadbhāva* to the *viśēṣaṇas* ?

समानाधिकरणत्वात् सिद्धम्

It is achieved through *sāmānādhikaraṇya*.

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समानाधिकरणत्वाद् विशेषणानां युक्तवद्भावो भविष्यति

There comes *yuktavadbhāva* to *viśēṣaṇas* through their being in apposition with *viśēṣyas.*

यद्येवं नार्थोऽनेन । लुपोऽन्यत्रापि जातेर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति

If so, no purpose is served by this (*sūtra*); *yuktavadbhāva* does not set in even in places other than where *lup* exists.

क्वान्यत्र ?

What are the places other than that where *lup* is found.

बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्ष इति

In *badarī sūkṣmakaṇṭakā madhurā vṛkṣaḥ.*

किं पुनः कारणमन्यत्रापि जातेर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति ?

Why does not *yuktavadbhāva* set in to *jāti* even in other places?

आविष्टलिङ्गा जातिः यल्लिङ्गमुपादाय प्रवर्तते उत्पत्तिप्रभृति आ विनाशान्न तल्लिङ्गं जहाति

Jāti invariably takes a particular *liṅga*; it does not leave off the *liṅga* in which it began to be used when it first became current till it becomes obsolete.

न तर्हि इदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः

If so, this *sūtra* need not be read here.

वक्तव्यश्च It has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit ?

इदं तत्र तत्रोच्यते - गुणवचनानां शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति इति, तदनेन क्रियते

This is said then and there, that words denoting quality take the *liṅga* and the *vacana* of the *guṇins* and it is achieved by this *sūtra.*

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः Gender in *harītakī* etc.

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिर्भवति युक्तवद्भावेन । हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः फलानि

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Gender through *yuktavadbhāva* sets in *harītakī* etc., so that the expression *harītakyaḥ phalāni* is used in the sense of the fruits of *harītakī*.

खलतिकादिषु वचनम् Number of *khalatika* etc.

खलतिकादिषु वचनं भवति युक्तवद्भावेन खलतिकस्य पर्वतस्यादूरभवानि वनानि खलतिकं वनानि ।

Number through *yuktavadbhāva* sets in *khalatika* etc., so that the expression *khalatikam vanāni* is used in the sense of forests not far from Mt. *Khalatika*.

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधः *Pratiṣēdha* in *manuṣyalup*.

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, चञ्चा अभिरूपः; वध्रिका दर्शनीयः

Prohibition of *yuktavadbhāva* should be made with reference to *manuṣyalup* so that *cañcā abhirūpaḥ, vadhrikā darśanīyaḥ* may be taken to be grammatically correct.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Tṛṇamayaḥ puruṣaḥ cañcā, tat-sadṛśō manuṣyaḥ cañcā*.

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (1, 2, 53)

किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् ?

Is it not to be read on account of the authority of the artificial *saṁjñās ṭi, ghu, bhā* etc. ?

नेत्याह, संज्ञानं संज्ञा, तदशिष्यम्

'No', says he. The word *saṁjñā* means *sampratyaya* (clear knowledge). So it need not be read.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् (1, 2, 58)

इदमयुक्तं वर्तते This is improper.

किमत्रायुक्तम् ? What is improper here?

बहवस्तेऽर्थाः तत्र युक्तं बहुवचनम् । तद्यदेकवचने शासितव्ये बहुवचनं शिष्यते एतदयुक्तम् । बहुषु एकवचनमिति नाम वक्तव्यम् ।

Where the objects are many, there is it proper to use the plural number. It is but improper to enjoin the use of the

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plural number where singular number is to be enjoined. '*Bahuṣu ēkavacanam*' is to be read in place of *ēkasmin bahuvacanam*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, if *bahuṣu ēkavacanam* is read, *jātyākhyā* should be taken to convey the meaning *jātēḥ upalakṣaṇatvēna ākhyā*.

अत उत्तरं पठति Then he reads the answer.

जात्याख्यायां सामान्याभिधानादैकार्थ्यम्

The *āikārthya* by the mention of *jātyākhyāyām ēkasmin* is by referring to *sāmānya* (genus).

जात्याख्यायां सामान्याभिधानादैकार्थ्यं भविष्यति । यत्तद् व्रीहौ व्रीहित्वं, यवे यवत्वं, गार्ग्ये गार्ग्यत्वं, तदेकं, तच्च विवक्षितं, तस्यैकत्वादेकवचनमेव प्राप्नोति । इष्यते च बहुवचनं स्यादिति तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यतीति जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

The state of referring to one object by the mention of *jātyākhyāyām ēkasmin* is by referring to genus. The *vrīhitva* in *vrīhi*, *yavatva* in *yava* and *gārgyatva* in *gārgya* is one and it is the desired one and singular number alone is to be used since it is one. It is desired that plural number also may be used and it cannot be achieved without effort and hence is read *jātyākhyāyām ēkasmin bahuvacanam*. This is why it is read.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? What then?

तत्रैकवचनादेशे उक्तम्

It has been dealt with where there is *atidēśa* to *ēkavacana*.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been dealt with?

व्रीहिभ्य आगत इत्यत्र घेर्ङिति इति गुणः प्राप्नोति इति

In the sentence *vrīhibhya āgataḥ*, there is chance for the *sūtra Ghēr ṅiti* to operate with reference to *vrīhibhyaḥ*, so that *i* of *vrīhi* may take *guṇa*.

NOTE :—This has been said under the *sūtra Sthānivad ādēśōsnalvidhāu* in the eighth *āhnika*.

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नैष दोषः This defect does not arise.

अर्थातिदेशात् सिद्धम् The object is achieved through *arthātidēśa.*

अर्थातिदेशोऽयम् । नेदं पारिभाषिकस्य वचनस्य ग्रहणम्

This is a case where *atidēśa* is based on *artha*. The *pāribhāṣika-vacana* is not taken into account (i. e.) it is not *vacanātidēśa*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

अन्वर्थग्रहणम् - उच्यते वचनम्, बहूनामर्थानां वचनं बहुवचनम् इति

The derivative meaning is taken into account. *Bahuvacanam* means that by which many things are referred to and the derivation of *vacanam* is *ucyatē*.

यावद् ब्रूयादेकोऽर्थो बहुवद् भवतीति तावदेकस्मिन् बहुवचनम् इति

As long as it is possible to take one object as many, so long may one use the plural number with reference to one object,

सङ्ख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः

Prohibition when there is a numerical adjunct.

सङ्ख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । एको व्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति; एको यवः सम्पन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति ।

There is need for prohibition of the use of the *bahuvacana* when there is a numerical adjunct as in *ēkō vrīhiḥ sampannaḥ subhikṣam karōti*, (one rich harvest of paddy brings in prosperity) *ēkō yavaḥ sampannaḥ subhikṣam karōti* (one rich harvest in *yava* brings in prosperity).

अस्मदो नामयुवप्रत्ययोश्च

Prohibition when *asmad* is used along with the name or the word ending in *yuvapratyaya*.

अस्मदो नामप्रयोगे युवप्रत्ययप्रयोगे च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । नामप्रयोगे - अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि, अहं यज्ञदत्तो ब्रवीमि । युवप्रत्ययप्रयोगे - अहं गार्ग्यायणो ब्रवीमि, अहं वात्स्यायनो ब्रवीमि ।

Prohibition need be mentioned when *asmad* is used along with the name or the word ending in *yuvapratyaya* as in '*Aham*

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Dēvadattō bravīmi', '*Aham Yajñadattō bravīmi*', '*Aham Gārgyāyaṇō bravīmi*' and '*Aham Vātsyāyanō bravīmi*'.[1]

युवग्रहणेन नार्थः - अस्मदो नामप्रत्ययप्रयोगे न इत्येव । इदमपि सिद्धं भवति - अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि, अहं वात्स्यो ब्रवीमि ।

There is no purpose served by the mention of *yuva* and it might have been read '*Asmadō nāmapratyayaprayōgē na*' so that the expressions *Aham Gārgyō bravīmi* and *Aham Uātsyō bravīmi* too may be sanctioned.

अपर आह Another says:

अस्मदः सविशेषणस्य प्रयोगे न इत्येव[2]

It may, as well, be read '*Asmadaḥ saviśēṣaṇasya prayōgē na*'.

इदमपि सिद्धं भवति, अहं पटुर्ब्रवीमि, अहं पण्डितो ब्रवीमि

This usage too may be sanctioned, '*Aham paṭur bravīmi*', '*Aham paṇḍitō bravīmi*'.

अशिष्यं वा बहुवत् पृथक्त्वाभिधानात्

Or *bahuvadbhāva* need not be enjoined on account of mention in different ways.

अशिष्यो वा बहुवद्भावः Or *bahuvadbhāva* need not be enjoined.

किं कारणम्? Why?

पृथक्त्वाभिधानात् । पृथक्त्वेन हि द्रव्याण्यभिधीयन्ते । बहवस्ते अर्थाः, तत्र युक्तं बहुवचनम्

On account of individual denotation. For *dravyas* are denoted individually. The objects denoted are many and hence the use of the plural number is appropriate.

किमुच्यते पृथक्त्वाभिधानादिति, यावता इदानीमेवोक्तम् जात्याख्यायां सामान्याभिधानादैकार्थ्यम् इति

1. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads:—*Bhāṣyē prasaṅgād Asmadō dvayōś ca* (1, 2, 59) *ityasya pratiṣēdham āha.*

2. This is *bhāṣya* in Bombay edition.

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How is it said 'on account of individual denotation immediately after it has been said that the *āikārthya* by the mention of *jātyākhyāyām ēkasmin* is by referring to genus (p. 120)?

जातिशब्देन हि द्रव्याभिधानम्

For there is the denotation of *dravya* for the word *jāti*.

जातिशब्देन हि द्रव्यमप्यभिधीयते जातिरपि

For *individuality* too is referred to by the word *jāti* and genus also.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here :-*Dravyam apīti, prādhānyēna iti śēṣaḥ.*

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते जातिशब्देन द्रव्यमप्यभिधीयत इति ?

How is it understood that individuality too is referred to by the word *jāti* ?

एवं हि कश्चिन्महति गोमण्डले गोपालकमासीनं पृच्छति 'अस्त्यत्र काञ्चिद् गां पश्यसि' इति । स पश्यति 'पश्यति चायं गाः', पृच्छति च 'काञ्चिदत्र गां पश्यसि' इति । नूनमस्य द्रव्यं विवक्षितम् इति

One asks another seated among a large herd of cows thus 'Do you see here any cow?'. He feels thus, "He sees cows and puts the question 'Do you see any cow?" Individuality is certainly meant by him."

तद्यदा द्रव्याभिधानं तदा बहुवचनं भविष्यति, यदा सामान्याभिधानं तदैकवचनं भविष्यति

Hence when individuality is meant, the plural number will be used and when genus is referred to, the singular number will be used.

NOTE :—From this it is evident that both *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* feel that this *sūtra* may be done away with.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च (1, 2, 59)

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् This *sūtra* too need not be read.

कथम् अहं ब्रवीमि, आवां ब्रूवः, वयं ब्रूमः ?

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How then can the following usage be sanctioned—*Aham bravīmi, Āvām brūvaḥ, Vayam brūmaḥ* [1] ?

इमानीन्द्रियाणि कदाचित् स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितानि भवन्ति, तद्यथा, इदं मे आक्षि सुष्ठु पश्यति, अयं मे कर्णः सुष्ठु शृणोति इति । कदाचित् पारतन्त्र्येण विवक्षितानि भवन्ति, अनेनाक्ष्णा सुष्ठु पश्यामि, अनेन कर्णेन सुष्ठु शृणोमि इति

These organs of sense are sometimes given prominence so that the following usage is current :—This, my eye, sees well ; this, my ear, hears well ; and sometimes they are not given prominence, but are intended as instruments so that the following usage is current :—I see well with this eye ; I hear well with this ear.

तद्यदा स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षा तदा बहुवचनं भविष्यति, यदा पारतन्त्र्येण तदैकवचनद्विवचने भविष्यतः

Similarly when one speaker or two intend prominence to them, there is the use of the plural number (like *Vayam paśyāmaḥ* in the place of *Aham paśyāmi* and *Āvām paśyāvaḥ*) and when prominence is not intended, there is the use of the singular and dual numbers.

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे (1, 2, 60)

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम्

This *sūtra* too may be dispensed with.

कथम्, उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ, उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः, उदिते पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे, उदिताः पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः

(If so), how can the following usages be sanctioned :—*Uditē pūrvē phalgunyāu, Uditāḥ pūrvāḥ phalgunyaḥ. Uditē pūrvē prōṣṭhapadē, Uditāḥ pūrvāḥ prōṣṭhapadāḥ* [2].

[3] फल्गुनीसमीपगते चन्द्रमसि फल्गुनीशब्दो वर्तते । बहवस्ते अर्थास्तत्र युक्तं बहुवचनम्; यदा तयोरेवाभिधानं तदा द्विवचनं भविष्यति

1. *Vayam* here refers to one or two persons.
2. Only *two* stars represent *pūrvaphalgunī* and only *two*, *pūrvaprōṣṭhapadā*. This *sūtra* sanctions the latter usage.
3. *Phalgunī* is *upalakṣaṇa* to *prōṣṭhapadā*.

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The word *phalgunī* may refer (by *gāuṇīvṛtti*) to the moon near the constellation *phalgunī*. If many objects near it are intended, the plural number is appropriate, and if only the two stars are intended, the dual number will be used.

NOTE :—Since the reading of *nakṣatrē* in the *sūtra* suggests that, according to *Sūtrakāra*, the *bahuvacana-prayōga* is optionally sanctioned to refer to the constellations alone, it is open to scrutiny how for *Mahābhāṣyakāra's pratyākhyāna* is sound.

छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् (1, 2, 61) **विशाखयोश्च** (1, 2, 62)

इमावपि योगौ शक्यावक्तुम्

These two *sūtras*, too, may be dispensed with.

कथम्? How is the purpose of the *sūtras* achieved?

पुनर्वसुविशाखयोः सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णेति सिद्धम्

The object is achieved with reference to *Punarvasu* and *Viśākha* by the *sūtra Supām su-luk* ... (7, 1, 39).

पुनर्वसुविशाखयोः सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्ण इत्येव सिद्धम्

The desired object is achieved with reference to *Punarvasu* and *Viśākha* by the *sūtra Supām su-luk* ... (7, 1, 39).[1]

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् (1, 2, 63)

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोरिति किमर्थम्?

Why should *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* alone be mentioned in the *sūtra*?

कृत्तिकारोहिण्यः

Bahuvacana is found in the expression *kṛttikārōhiṇyaḥ*.

नक्षत्र इति किमर्थम्?

What for is the mention of the word *nakṣatra*?

तिष्यश्च माणवकः, पुनर्वसू च माणवकौ, तिष्यपुनर्वसवः

1. The use of *su* in place of any *sup* seems to refer to case and number and this *sūtra* refers to number alone.

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Tiṣya is the name of a *māṇavaka*, *punarvasū* denotes the name of two *māṇavakas* and the *dvandva* of that *tiṣya* and that *punarvasū* is *tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ*.

NOTE:—This shows that naming a person with the constellation in which he is born was in vogue even in *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* time.

अथ नक्षत्र इति वर्तमाने पुनर्नक्षत्रग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the need of reading the word *nakṣatra* again in this *sūtra*, when it is possible to take it by *anuvṛtti* from the *sūtra Phalgunī-prōṣṭhapadānām ca nakṣatrē* (1, 2, 60).

अयं तिष्यपुनर्वसुशब्दोऽस्त्येव ज्योतिषि वर्तते, अस्ति च कालवाची । तद्यथा, बहवस्तिष्यपुनर्वसवोऽतिक्रान्ताः, कतरेण तिष्येण गत इति । तद्यो ज्योतिषि वर्तते तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ॥

This, the word *tiṣya* and the word *punarvasu*, is used to denote the respective constellation and also to denote a duration of time. The latter is illustrated by the following expressions:—Many *tiṣya-punarvasus* have passed. In which *tiṣya* did he go? That which refers to the constellation is taken in this *sūtra*.

NOTE:—1. *Kāiyaṭa* says that there is *vyāvṛtti* to *kāla* by one *nakṣatra* and to *māṇavaka* by another.

NOTE:—2. Taking that there may be *vyāvṛtti* to both by the mention of *nakṣatradvandva*, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* seems to resort to another way of answering the objection.

अथ वा नक्षत्र इति वर्तमाने पुनर्नक्षत्रग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् - विदेशस्थमपि तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोः कार्यं तदपि नक्षत्रस्यैव यथा स्यात् । तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि यलोपो वक्तव्यः इति नक्षत्रग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति ।

Or this is the *prayōjana* of reading *nakṣatra* again when there is chance for the *anuvṛtti* of *nakṣatra* that, wherever *kārya* is enjoined to *tiṣyapunarvasu* even on other occasions, it refers only to the *nakṣatra tiṣyapunarvasu*. Hence the word *nakṣatra* need not be mentioned in the *vārttika Tiṣya-puṣyayōr nakṣatrāṇi yalōpaḥ* under the *sūtra Sūrya-tiṣya* ... (6, 4, 149).

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NOTE :—1. The word *vaktavyaḥ* may be omitted from the text above, since it is not found in the *vārttika* under 6, 4, 149.

NOTE :—2. Since it is far-fetched to hold that the same name may refer to the *nakṣatra* alone in far-off places too, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* takes to another way of reasoning.

अथ वा नक्षत्र इति वर्तमाने पुनर्नक्षत्रग्रहणस्यैतत् प्रयोजनं, तिष्यपुनर्वसुपर्यायवाचिनामपि यथा स्यात् - पुष्यपुनर्वसू, सिध्यपुनर्वसू

Or this is the *prayōjana* of reading *nakṣatra* again when there is chance for the *anuvṛtti* of *nakṣatra* that, it holds good to the synonyms of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu*, as in *puṣya-punarvasū*, and *sidhya-punarvasū*.

NOTE :— *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads :–*Tiṣya-punarvasvōḥ śabdayōḥ abidhēyē nakṣatrē vartamānānām naṣatraśabdānām dvandva iti sūtrārtha iti bhāvaḥ.*

अथ द्वन्द्व इति किमर्थम्? What for is the word *dvandva*?

यस्तिष्यः तौ पुनर्वसू येषां त इमे तिष्यपुनर्वसव उन्मुग्धाः

(*Dvivacana* is only in *dvandva*) and in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *Tisyapunarvasavaḥ* which is used with reference to fools to whom *tiṣya* is *punarvasū*, it is in the plural number.

बहुवचनस्येति किमर्थम्? What for is the word *bahuvacanasya*?

उदितं तिष्यपुनर्वसु

(So that it may not operate in) *Uditam tiṣyapunarvasu.*

कथं चात्रैकवचनम्? How comes the singular number here?

जातिद्वन्द्व एकवद्भवतीति

Jātidvandva takes singular number by the *sūtra Jālir aprāṇinām* (2, 4, 6)

अप्राणिनाम् इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

There is chance for the *pratiṣēdha* mentioned by *aprāṇinām.*

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्बहुवचनग्रहणं करोति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः, सर्वो द्वन्द्वो विभाषयैकवद् भवति इति ।

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If so, since he reads *bahuvacana* when its result can be otherwise achieved, *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that all *dvandvas* optionally take *ēkavadbhāva*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the *prayōjana* of this *jñāpana* ?

बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनं, बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः इत्येतत् सिद्धं भवति

The two *prayōgas* *Bābhrava-śālaṅkāyanam* and *Bābhrava-śālaṅkāyanāḥ* are sanctioned.

अथ वा नात्रभवन्तः प्राणिनः, प्राणा एवात्रभवन्तः

Or those that are mentioned here are not *prāṇins*, but they are only *prāṇas*.

NOTE :—The use of the word *atra-bhavantaḥ* to refer to stars is perhaps due to the fact that one's life depends upon their position.

ELEVENTH AHNIKA ENDS

(First *adhyāya*, second *pāda*, second *āhnika* ends)

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Twelfth Āhnika

(*First adhyāya, second pāda, third āhnika*)

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ (1, 2, 64)

Seven topics are dealt with here. Firstly *Mahābhāṣyakāra* discusses the *prayōjana* of the mention of each word in the *sūtra*. (2) *Vārttikakāra* states reasons for the need of the *sūtra* (3) elaborately discusses whether the word *ēkavibhaktāu* fits in the *sūtra* (4), suggests certain additions to the *sūtra* (5), mentions the absence of *ēkaśēṣa* in words denoting certain numbers (6), refers to the presence of *ēkaśēṣa* when words have to denote collectively first and second persons, first and third persons, second and third persons, and first, second and third persons and (7) he lastly decides that this *sūtra* is unnecessary whether *jāti* is *padārtha* or *vyakti* is *padārtha*.

I—i

रूपग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of the word *rūpa*?

समानानामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ इति इयत्युच्यमाने यत्रैव सर्वं समानं-शब्दः अर्थश्च-तत्रैव स्याद् वृक्षाः प्लक्षा इति, इह न स्याद् अक्षाः पादा माषा इति। रूपग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति। रूपं निमित्तत्वेन आश्रीयते; श्रुतौ च रूपग्रहणम्॥

If the word *samānānām* is read in the *sūtra* in place of *sarūpāṇām*, *ēkaśēṣa* will take place only with reference to *vṛkṣāḥ*, *plakṣāḥ* etc. where everything is similar—the form of the word and its meaning—and not with reference to the words *akṣāḥ*, *pādāḥ*, *māṣāḥ* etc. (where the similarity is only in form and not in meaning). If the word *rūpa* is read, this defect does not arise. The *rūpa* is taken to be *nimitta* and the cognisance of the *rūpa* is only through the sense of hearing.

NOTE:—1. The word *rūpa* in *rūpagrahaṇa* in the *bhāṣya* has to refer to *sarūpa* and hence it gives room to doubt whether *sa* was omitted by the scribe who copied from the original manuscript.

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NOTE:—2. The word *akṣa* means an axle, a die etc.; *pāda* means a foot, a ray of light etc.; and *māṣa* means a bean, a fool etc.

NOTE:—3. *Kāiyaṭa* says:—*Śrutāu iti - śrōtrōpalabdhāu ityarthaḥ. Atha vā śrōtrēndriyam śrutir ucyatē. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* adds here—*Ādyē grahaṇam viṣayatā, dvitīyē tu pratītir iti vivēkaḥ.*

I—ii

अथैकग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of *ēka* (in *ēkaśēṣaḥ*)?

सरूपाणां शेष एकविभक्तौ इति इयत्युच्यमाने द्विबह्वोरपि शेषः प्रसज्येत । एकग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read without the word *ēka* thus—*Sarūpāṇām śēṣa ēkavibhaktāu*—the *śēṣatva* may chance to come to two or more forms. That defect will not arise if mention of *ēka* is made.

I—iii

अथ शेषग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the mention of *śēṣa*?

सरूपाणामेक एकविभक्तौ इति इयत्युच्यमाने आदेशोऽयं विज्ञायेत

If the *sūtra* is read thus—*Sarūpāṇām ēka ēkavibhaktāu*, that which remains will have to be taken as *ādēśa*, (since the *ṣaṣṭhī* should be taken as *sthānē-ṣaṣṭhī* by the *paribhāṣā*, *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*).

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm then?

अश्वश्च अश्वश्च अश्वौ, आन्तर्यतो ह्युदात्तवतः स्थानिनो ह्युदात्तवानादेशः प्रसज्येत

Aśvāu will have to be considered as the *ādēśa* of two *aśvas* and both of its syllables will have to take *udāttatva* on account of its having to be closely related to the *sthānins* which have two *udātta* syllables.

लोप्यलोपिता च न प्रकल्पेत

Besides it may not be easy to decide the elision of the parts to be elided.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm then?

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गर्गा वत्सा बिदा उर्वाः, यञ् यो बहुषु अञ् यो बहुषु इत्युच्यमानो लुङ् न प्राप्नोति

The *yañ* which is left to denote many and the *añ* which is left to denote many, after the stems *Garga*, *Vatsa*, *Bida* and *Urva* are enjoined to be elided (by the *sūtra Yañañōś ca* 2, 4, 64), but the said elision may not take place.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, if one *y* is taken as the *ādēśa* of many *yakāras* after *Garga*, there is chance for its elision. But if *Garga-ya* is taken as the *ādēśa* of *Garga-ya-ya-ya*, there is no chance for its elision.

मा भूदेवम् । यञन्तं यद् बहुषु, अञन्तं यद् बहुषु इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

Let it not be interpreted in that way. Let it be interpreted in this way—there is *luk* to that which is *yañanta* denoting many and *añanta*, denoting many.

नैवं शक्यम्, इह हि दोषः स्यात् काश्यपप्रतिकृतयः काश्यपा इति ।

No, it cannot be interpreted in that way; for there will be difficulty in arriving at the form *kāśyapāḥ* meaning 'the portraits of *Kāśyapa*.'

I—iv

एकविभक्तौ इति किमर्थम्?

What for is the mention of the word *ēkavibhaktāu*?

पयः पयो जरयति, वासो वासच्छादयति, ब्राह्मणाभ्यां च कृतं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां च देहि इति

(So that *ēkaśēṣa* may not take place among words having the same form but belonging to different cases) as *payaḥ* in the sentence *payaḥ payō jarayati*, as *vāsaḥ* in the sentence *vāsō vāsac chādayati* and as *brāhmaṇābhyām* in the sentences *brāhmaṇābhyām ca kṛtam* and *brāhmaṇābhyām ca dēhi*.

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? What is the need for this *sūtra*?

प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशान्नैकेनानेकस्याभिधानम्

The incapacity of one to denote many on account of each object being expressed by a separate word.

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प्रत्यर्थं शब्दा अभिनिविशन्ते

Words are used, each to denote one object.

किमिदं प्रत्यर्थमिति ?

What is the meaning of this word *pratyartham* ?

अर्थमर्थं प्रति प्रत्यर्थम्

Pratyartham means 'with reference to each object.'

प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशात् - एतस्मात् कारणाद् नैकेन शब्देन अनेकस्यार्थस्याभिधानं प्राप्नोति

On account of one word being used to denote one object. On account of this, one word cannot denote many objects.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

तत्रानेकार्थाभिधानेऽनेकशब्दत्वम्

Chance for its being considered many words on its denoting many objects.

तत्रानेकार्थाभिधाने अनेकशब्दत्वं प्राप्नोति

There is chance for its being considered many words on its denoting many objects.

इष्यते चैकेनाप्यनेकस्याभिधानं स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति ।

It is desired that one word should denote many and it cannot be achieved without special effort.

तस्मादेकशेषः । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते

Hence is the mention of *ēkaśēṣa*. The *sūtra* is intended for it.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत ? Is this the *prayōjana* ?

किं तर्हीति ? What then ?

किमिदं प्रत्यर्थं शब्दाः अभिनिविशन्त इत्येतं दृष्टान्तमास्थाय सरूपाणामेकशेषः आरभ्यते, न पुनरप्रत्यर्थं शब्दा अभिनिविशन्त इत्येतं दृष्टान्तमास्थाय विरूपाणाम् अनेकशेष आरभ्यते ?

How is it that the *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣaḥ* is read on the basis of the assumption that each word denotes one object

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and a *sūtra Virūpāṇām anēkaśēṣaḥ* is not read on the basis of the assumption that one word (like *akṣāḥ*) is used to denote many objects (of different nature)?

तत्रैतत् स्यात् लघीयसी सरूपनिवृत्तिः, गरीयसी विरूपप्रतिपत्तिः इति [1]

This happens there that *sarūpanivṛtti* is lighter and *virūpa-pratipatti* is heavier.

तच्च न, लघीयसी विरूपप्रतिपत्तिः

No, it is not; *virūpapratipatti* is lighter.

किं कारणं? Why?

यत्र हि बहूनां सरूपाणामेकः शिष्यते, तत्रावरतो द्वयोः सरूपयोर्निवृत्तिर्वक्तव्या स्यात्

Where one among many *sarūpas* is left behind, it is necessary to state that the two *sarūpas* that followed are dropped.

एवमप्येतस्मिन् सति किञ्चिदाचार्यः [2] सुकरतरकं चैकशेषारम्भं मन्यते

Though it stands thus, *Ācārya* considers that reading the *sūtra* of *ēkaśēṣa* is simpler.

III—i (*a*)

किं पुनरयमेकविभक्तावेकशेषो भवति?

What does the statement *ēkavibhaktāu ēkaśēṣaḥ* mean?

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* tells us that through this question *Mahābhāṣyakāra* suggests the question whether the word *ēka* in *ēkavibhaktāu* denotes number or *similarity.*

एवं भवितुमर्हति It deserves to be this. [3]

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* tells us that *ēka* refers to number.

एकविभक्ताविति चेन्नाभावाद्विभक्तेः

If *ēkavibhaktāu* is mentioned in the *sūtra*, it does not happen on account of the absence of *vibhakti*.

1. *Iti* is omitted in some editions.
2. In Guruprasada Sastri's edition the two words *sukaratarakam manyatē* are found in addition.
3. Such elliptical statements are very rare in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

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एकविभक्ताविति चेत् तन्न

If *ēkavibhaktāu* is read in the *sūtra*, *ēkaśēṣa* has no chance to happen.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अभावाद् विभक्तेः । न हि समुदायात् परा विभक्तिरस्ति ।

On account of the absence of *vibhakti*. For *vibhakti* does not follow the *samudāya* (collection of words).

किं कारणम्? Why?

अप्रातिपदिकत्वात्

On account of its not being a *prātipadika*.

ननु चार्थवत् प्रातिपदिकमिति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भविष्यति

Oh! *prātipadikasaṁjñā* is certainly there on the strength of the statement *Arthavat prātipadikam*!

NOTE:—The *artha* that is referred to here is the *samudāyārtha*.

नियमान्न प्राप्नोति - अर्थवत्समुदायानां समासग्रहणं नियमार्थमिति

No, it has no chance to come here on account of the *niyama* that the mention of *samāsa* (in the *sūtra Kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*) restricts the denotation of *arthavat-samudāyas* (referred to by *arthavad* in the *sūtra Arthavad-adhātur-apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*).

NOTE:—If *sarūpas* refer to stems and *ēka* in *ēkavibhaktāu* refers to number, the above argument shows that this *sūtra* has no meaning.

III—ii (*a*)

यदि पुनः पृथक् सर्वेषां विभक्तिपराणामेकशेष उच्यते

If it is said of *ēkaśēṣa* of stems each being followed by a separate case-suffix.

पृथक्सर्वेषामिति चेदेकशेषे पृथग्विभक्त्युपलब्धिस्तदाश्रयत्वात्

If it is said that *ēkaśēṣa* of stems takes place when each is followed by a separate case-suffix, there is chance for each

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case-suffix to stand without being dropped, since *ēkaśēṣa* depends upon them.

NOTE:—The word *ēka* in *ēkavibhaktāu* is taken here in the sense of *tulya* as the word *ēka* in *ēkadik*.

पृथक् सर्वेषामिति चेदेकशेषे पृथग्विभक्त्युपलब्धिः प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that *ēkaśēṣa* of stems takes place when each is followed by a separate case-suffix, there is chance for each case-suffix to stand without its being dropped.

किमुच्यते एकशेषे पृथग्विभक्त्युपलब्धिः इति?

How is it said that there is chance for each case-suffix to stand without its being dropped when there is *ēkaśēṣa*?

यावता समयः कृतः 'न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्ययः' इति, तदाश्रयत्वात् प्राप्नोति ।

Since there is the dictum that neither a stem alone is used without a *pratyaya* nor a *pratyaya* alone is used without a stem, there is chance for each case-suffix to stand on account of the *prakṛtyēkaśēṣa* depending upon case-suffix.

यत्र हि प्रकृतिनिमित्ता प्रत्ययनिवृत्तिः, तत्र अप्रत्ययिकायाः प्रकृतेः प्रयोगो भवति, अग्निचित् सोमसुद् इति यथा

Where there is the elision of *pratyaya* depending upon *prakṛti*, *prakṛti* alone is used without *pratyaya*, as in the words *Agnicit*, and *Sōmasut*.

यत्र च प्रत्ययनिमित्ता प्रकृतिनिवृत्तिः, तत्र अप्रकृतिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य प्रयोगो भवति - अधुना, इयान् इति यथा

Where there is the elision of the *prakṛti* on account of the *pratyaya*, the *pratyaya* alone is used without *prakṛti*, as in the words *adhunā* [1] and *iyān* [2].

1. *Adhunā* is said to be a *pratyaya* and it is enjoined after the stem *idam* in the *sūtra Adhunā* (5, 3, 17) and the stem *idam* is dropped by the *sūtras Idama iś* (5, 3, 3) and *Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 184).

2. *Iyān* is formed by the operation of *sūtras Kimidambhyām vō ghaḥ* (5, 2, 40), *Idaṁkimōr iś kī* (6, 3, 90) and *Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 184).

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अस्तु । संयोगान्तलोपेन सिद्धम्

Let it be; the object is achieved by *saṁyōgāntalōpa*.

NOTE:—This answer is based on the assumption that, of *vṛkṣa-s vṛkṣa-s vṛkṣa-s*, the last two stems are dropped so that the arrived-at form is *vṛkṣa-s-s-s*.

कुतो नु खल्वेतत् परयोर्वृक्षशब्दयोर्निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति, न पुनः पूर्वयोरिति ?

How is it that the last two stems are dropped and not the first two?

NOTE:–In that case the arrived-at form will be *s-s-vṛkṣa-s*.

तदेतत् स्यात् पूर्वनिवृत्तावपि सत्यां संयोगादिलोपेन सिद्धम् इति ।

Even when the first two stems are elided, the object is achieved by *saṁyōgādilōpa*.

न सिध्यति तत्रावरतो द्वयोस्सकारयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

No, it is not achieved; two *sakāras* will exist near the last stem one before it and one after it.

यत्र च संयोगान्तलोपो नास्ति, तत्र च न सिध्यति

Besides the object is not achieved where there is no *saṁyōgāntalōpa*.

क्व च संयोगान्तलोपो नास्ति

Where is not, then, *saṁyōgāntalōpa*?

द्विवचनबहुवचनयोः

When the stem is followed by dual and plural suffixes.

NOTE:—The above argument shows that *ēkavibhaktāu* does not fit in the *sūtra* even when *ēka* is taken in the sense of *tulya*.

III—iii

यदि पुनः समास एकशेष उच्यते

If *ēkaśēṣa* is enjoined in a (*dvandva*) *samāsa*.

किं कृतं भवति? What is achieved (by it)?

कश्चिद्वचनलोपः परिहृतो भवति

The difficulty regarding the elision of case-suffixes mentioned above is removed.

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तर्त्तहि समासग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, the word (*dvandva*) *samāsē* has to be read.

न कर्तव्यम्; प्रकृतमनुवर्तते

No, it need not be read; it is taken here by *anuvṛtti* from the *sūtra* in the context.

क्व प्रकृतम्? What is the *sūtra* in the context?

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् इति

The *sūtra Tiṣya-punarvasvōr nakṣatradvandvē bahuvacanasya dvivacanam nityam.*

समास इति चेत्स्वरसमासान्तेषु दोषः

If it is enjoined in *samāsa*, there is difficulty in *svara* and *samāsānta.*

समास इति चेत् स्वरसमासान्तेषु दोषो भवति

If it is enjoined in *samāsa*, there is difficulty with reference to *svara* and *samāsānta.*

स्वर - अश्वश्च अश्वश्च अश्वौ । समासान्तोदात्तत्वे कृते एकशेषः प्राप्नोति । इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - समासान्तोदात्तत्वं क्रियताम् एकशेषः इति । किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? परत्वात् समासान्तोदात्तत्वम्; समासान्तोदात्तत्वे च दोषो भवति ।

Svara:—*Aśvaḥ ca aśvaḥ ca* become *aśvāu*. *Ēkaśēṣa* takes place after the *sūtra* (*Samāsasya* 6, 1, 223) enjoining *samāsāntōdāttatva* operates. This is to be decided whether *samāsāntōdāttatva* should precede or *ēkaṣēṣa*. What is to be done here? *Samāsāntōdāttatva* has to precede *ēkaśēṣa*, since the *sūtra* enjoining the former is *para*. There is difficulty if *samāsāntōdāttatva* precedes *ēkaśēṣa*.

NOTE:—*Aśva* and *aśva* become *aśvāśvāu*; the final syllable first becomes *udātta*. If the former part remains and the latter part is elided by *ēkaśēṣa*, there is chance for *sarvānudāttatva* and if the latter part remains, the final syllable of *aśva* has a chance to be *udātta*. It is defective in both ways.

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समासान्त - ऋक् च ऋक् च ऋचौ । समासान्ते कृते असारूप्याद् एकशेषो न प्राप्नोति । इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - समासान्तः क्रियताम् एकशेष इति । किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? परत्वात् समासान्तः, समासान्ते च दोषो भवति ।

Samāsānta:—Ṛk ca ṛk ca ṛcāu. There is no chance for *ēkaśēṣa* through dissimilarity, if the *samāsāntavidhi* operates first. This is to be decided whether *samāsāntavidhi* is to operate first or *ēkaśēṣa*. What is to be done here? *Samāsāntavidhi* has to operate first since it is *para*. After it has operated, difficulty arises (with reference to *ēkaśēṣa*).

NOTE:—One is *ṛk* and the other is *ṛca* by the *sūtra Ṛkpūrabdhūḥ*...(5, 4, 74).

अङ्गाश्रये चैकशेषवचनम्

Need for the mention of *ēkaśēṣa* after the operation of *aṅgāśraya-vidhi*.

अङ्गाश्रये च कार्ये एकशेषो वक्तव्यः

Ēkaśēṣa has to be enjoined with reference to the *kārya* depending on *aṅga*.

स्वसा च स्वसारौ च स्वसारः । अङ्गाश्रये कृते असारूप्याद् एकशेषो न प्राप्नोति । इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - अङ्गाश्रयं क्रियताम् एकशेष इति । किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? परत्वादङ्गाश्रयम्

Svasā ca svasārāu ca svasāraḥ. After *aṅgāśrayavidhi* operates, there is no room for *ēkaśēṣa* through dissimilarity. This has to be decided whether *aṅgāśrayavidhi* is to operate first, or *ēkaśēṣa*. What is to be done here? *Aṅgāśrayavidhi* is to operate first, since it is *para*.

तिङ्समासे तिङ्समासवचनम् Mention of *tiṅ-samāsa* in *tiṅ-samāsa*.

तिङ्समासे तिङ्समासो वक्तव्यः

Tiṅsamāsa has to be read in *tiṅ-samāsa*.

एकं तिङ्ग्रहणमनर्थकं समासे तिङ्समास इत्येव सिद्धम्

Mention of one *tiṅ* does not serve any purpose; the object is achieved by reading the *vārttika Samāsē tiṅsamāsavacanam*.

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नानर्थकम् । तिङ्समासे प्रकृते तिङ्समासो वक्तव्यः

It is not *anarthaka*. It means that, when there is a chance for *tiṅsamāsa*, the word *tiṅsamāsa* has to be read.

तिङ्विधिप्रतिषेधश्च Both *tiṅvidhi* and *tiṅpratiṣēdha*.

त्रिङ् च कश्चिद्विधेयः, कश्चित् प्रतिषेध्यः । पचति च पचति च पचतः, तश्शब्दो विधेयः, तिशब्दः प्रतिषेध्यः ॥

One *tiṅ* has to be enjoined and another has to be prohibited. When *pacati ca pacati ca* become *pacataḥ*, *tas* has to be enjoined and *ti* has to be prohibited.

III—ii (*b*)

यदि पुनरसमास एकशेष उच्येत

Suppose *ēkaśēṣa* is enjoined in *non-samāsas*.

असमासे वचनलोपः Mention of *vacanalōpa* in *non-samāsa*.

यद्यसमासे वचनलोपो वक्तव्यः

If it is in *non-samāsa*, mention of *vacana-lōpa* is necessary.

ननु चोत्पततैव वचनलोपं चोदिताः स्मः

Oh! we were informed at the very beginning about this *vacanalōpa*.

द्विवचनबहुवचनविधिं द्वन्द्वप्रतिषेधं च वक्ष्यति, तदर्थं पुनश्चोद्यते

He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to add *dvivacana-bahuvacana-vidhi* and *dvandva-pratiṣēdha* and for that sake, it is reopened.

द्विवचनबहुवचनविधिः *Vidhi* of *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana*.

द्विवचनबहुवचनानि विधेयानि – वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षौ, वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षा इति

The dual case-suffix and the plural case-suffix have to be enjoined, so that *vṛkṣas ca vṛkṣas ca* may become *vṛkṣāu* and *vṛkṣas ca vṛkṣas ca vṛkṣas ca* may become *vṛkṣāḥ*.

द्वन्द्वप्रतिषेधश्च *Dvandvapratiṣēdha* too.

द्वन्द्वस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षौ, वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षा इति । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः इति द्वन्द्वः प्राप्नोति

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There is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *dvandva*. *Dvandvatva* has a chance to set in through the *sūtra Cārthē dvandvaḥ* (2-2-29) in *vṛkṣāu* which stands for *vṛkṣas ca vṛkṣas ca* and in *vṛṣkāḥ* which stands for *vṛkṣas ca vṛkṣas ca vṛkṣas ca*.

नैष दोष, अनवकाश एकशेषो द्वन्द्वं बाधिष्यते

No, this difficulty does not arise, since *ēkaśēṣa* which is *anavakāśa* will set at naught *dvandva*.

सावकाश एकशेषः *Ekaśēṣa* is *sāvakāśa*.

कोऽवकाशः ? Which is the room for it to operate?

तिङन्तान्यवकाशः The *avakāśa* is finite verbs.

NOTE:—The need for re-opening III-ii is to show two more defects in it.

III—iv (*a*)

यदि पुनः पृथक् सर्वेषां विभक्त्यन्तानामेकशेष उच्येत

Suppose then, *ēkaśēṣa* is enjoined to the words which are *vibhaktyantas* (i.e.) which have case-suffixes at the end.

NOTE:—The *saptamī ēkavibhaktāu* in the *sūtra* is taken to have the meaning of *ṣaṣṭhī*.

किं कृतं भवति ? What is achieved by it?

कश्चिद्वचनलोपः परिहृतो भवति ; विभक्त्यन्तानामेकशेषे विभक्त्यन्तानामेव तु निवृत्तिर्भवति

The difficulty about the *vacana-lōpa* is removed; if *ēkaśēṣa* is with reference to *vibhaktyantas*, whole words ending in case-suffix are elided.

एकविभक्त्यन्तानामिति तु पृथग्विभक्तिप्रतिषेधार्थम्

Need for the mention of *ēkavibhaktyantānām* to prohibit different *vibhaktyantas*.

एकविभक्त्यन्तानामिति तु वक्तव्यम्

It is the word *ēkavibhaktyantānām* that has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why?

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पृथग्विभाक्तिप्रतिषेधार्थम् - पृथग्विभक्त्यन्तानां मा भूत् । ब्राह्मणाभ्यां च कृतम्, ब्राह्मणाभ्यां च देहि ।

To prohibit (the *ēkaśēṣa*) of different *vibhaktyantas*. So that it may not take place to words having similar case-suffix in different cases, as *brāhmaṇābhyām* in the two sentences *brāhmaṇābhyām ca kṛtam* and *brāhmaṇābhyām ca dēhi*.

न वार्थविप्रतिषेधाद्युगपद्वचनाभावः

No, there is no chance for *ēkaśēṣa* on account of difference in meaning.

न वा एष दोषः This difficulty cannot arise.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अर्थविप्रतिषेधात् । विप्रतिषिद्धौ एतावर्थौ कर्ता सम्प्रदानम् इति अशक्यौ युगपन्निर्देष्टुम् । तयोर्विप्रतिषिद्धत्वाद् युगपद्वचनं न भविष्यति

On account of *arthavipratiṣēdha*. The two meanings *kartā* and *sampradānam* are different from each other and so they cannot be expressed simultaneously. Hence they cannot be expressed by one word on account of *vipratiṣēdha* between them.

अनेकार्थाश्रयश्च पुनरेकशेषः [तस्मान्नैकशब्दत्वम्]

But *ēkaśēṣa* is on the basis of one denoting many; hence is the impossibility of their becoming one word.

अनेकमर्थं सम्प्रत्याययिष्यामि इति एकशेष आरभ्यते

Ekaśēṣa is resorted to on the basis that the *Sūtrakāra* intends that one word should be capable of denotiong many at the same time.

तस्मान्नैकशब्दत्वम् - तस्मादेकशब्दत्वं न भविष्यति

Hence is the impossibility of their becoming one word:—Hence they do not take *ēkaśēṣa*.

NOTE :—1. From this, *Vārttikakāra* establishes that the two *brāhmaṇābhyām* having different case-suffixes (mentioned above) cannot take *ēkaśēṣa*.

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NOTE :—2. From the line of argument in this *pakṣa*, it makes us infer that *ēka* in *ēkavibhaktāu* does not serve useful purpose.

अयं तर्हि दोषः - कश्चिद्वचनलोपः, द्विवचनबहुवचनविधिः, द्वन्द्वप्रतिषेधश्च इति
Even then, this defect remains that there is difficulty about that *lōpa* of the singular suffix and there is need of enjoining dual case-suffix and plural case-suffix and of prohibiting its becoming a *dvandva* compound.

III—v (*a*)

यदि पुनः प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेष उच्येत
Suppose, then, *ēkaśēṣa* is enjoined only to *prātipadika*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says here thus :—The word *ēkavibaktāu* is not read in the *sūtra* and the word *prātipadikasya* is taken here by *anuvṛtti* from the *sūtra Hrasvō napuṁsakē prātipadikasya* (1, 2, 47.) *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* adds that *prātipadikasya* is changed to *prātipadikānām*.

किं कृतं भवति ? What is then achieved ?

वचनलोपः परिहृतो भवति
The difficulty about the elision of the case-suffix disappears.

प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेषे मातृमात्रोः प्रतिषेधः सरूपत्वात्
If there is *ēkaśēṣa* of *prātipadikas*, need for prohibiting that of *mātṛ* and *mātṛ* due on account of similarity of form.

प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेषे मातृमात्रोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । माता च जनयित्री, मातारौ च धान्यस्य, मातृमातारः
If *ēkaśēṣa* of *prātipadikas* is resorted to, there is need to prohibit that of *mātṛ* and *mātṛ-mātā* (mother) *ca mātārāu* (the two measurers of corn) *ca* should compound into *mātṛmātāraḥ*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

सरूपत्वात् - सरूपाणि ह्येतानि प्रातिपदिकानि
On account of having the same form. For these *prātipadikas* are identical in form.

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किमुच्यते प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेषे मातृमात्रोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य इति, न पुनर्यस्यापि विभक्त्यन्तानामेकशेषः तेनापि मातृमात्रोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः स्यात् । तस्यापि ह्येतानि क्वचिद् विभक्त्यन्तानि सरूपाणि, मातृभ्यां च मातृभ्यां च इति ?

Why is it said that there is need of prohibiting the *ēkaśēṣa* of *mātṛ* and *mātṛ* when the *ēkaśēṣa* of *prātipadikas* is dealt with and why is it not said when the *ēkaśēṣa* of *vibhaktyants* was discussed? Both of them have the same form in certain cases like *mātṛbhyām, mātṛbhyām* etc.

अथ मतमेतद् विभक्त्यन्तानां सारूप्ये भवितव्यमेवैकशेषेणेति । प्रातिपदिकानामेवैकशेषे दोषो भवति । एवं च कृत्वा चोद्यते ।

It may also be said that there is possibility of *ēkaśēṣa* when the *vibhaktyantas* are similar. The difficulty fully arises only when *ēkaśēṣa* of *prātipadikas* is acceded. The discussion is made only on that basis.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says here that there cannot be *ēkaśēṣa* on account of *arthavipratiṣēdha* and that, even if *ēkaśēṣa* is acceded to, there cannot be *anuprayōga* to the same either by *tābhis* or by *tāis*. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* does not agree with his view.

हरितहरिणश्येतश्येनरोहितरोहिणानां स्त्रियामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Ēkaśēṣa of *harita* and *hariṇa*, *śyēta* and *śyēna* and *rōhita* and *rōhiṇa* in feminine gender to be supplemented.

हरितहरिणश्येतश्येनरोहितरोहिणानां स्त्रियामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - हरितस्य स्त्री हरिणी, हरिणस्यापि हरिणी, हरिणी च हरिणी च हरिण्यौ ; श्येतस्य स्त्री श्येनी, श्येनस्यापि स्त्री श्येनी, श्येनी च श्येनी च श्येन्यौ ; रोहितस्य स्त्री रोहिणी, रोहिणस्यापि रोहिणी, रोहिणी च रोहिणी च रोहिण्यौ

It is necessary to supplement the *ēkaśēṣa* of the following pairs in their feminine gender :–*harita* and *hariṇa*, *śyēta* and *śyēna* and *rōhita* and *rōhiṇa*. *Haritasya strī hariṇī, hariṇasya strī hariṇī, hariṇī ca hariṇī ca hariṇyāu ; śyētasya strī śyēnī, śyēnasya strī śyēnī, śyēnī ca śyēnī ca śyēnyāu; rōhitasya strī rōhiṇī, rōhiṇasya strī rōhiṇī, rōhiṇī ca rōhiṇī ca rōhiṇyāu.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, since they are dissimilar in stem form, there is no chance for *ēkaśēṣa*.

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न वा पदस्यार्थे प्रयोगात्

No, on account of word being used to denote *artha*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

NOTE :—The difficulty here referred to has reference to the two *vārttikas Prātipadikānām- ēkaśēṣē mātṛmātrōḥ° pratiṣēdhaḥ sarūpatvāt* and *Haritahariṇa....*

किं कारणम्? Why?

पदस्यार्थे प्रयोगात्

On account of the use of *pada* to denote *artha*.

पदमर्थे प्रयुज्यते, विभक्त्यन्तं च पदम्

Pada is used to denote *artha* and *pada* is only *vibhaktyanta*.

रूपं चेहाश्रीयते । रूपनिर्ग्रहश्च शब्दस्य नान्तरेण लौकिकं प्रयोगम् । तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे सरूपाण्येतानि

Rūpa is taken into account in this *sūtra*. The *rūpa* of a word cannot be decided except with reference to its usage in the world. These have the same form in the *lāukika-prayōga*.

NOTE :—The statement *sarūpāṇyētāni* should be taken as *upalakṣaṇa*. Hence the statement *virūpāṇi tāni* can be added, from which it is seen *mātarāu* and *mātārāu* which are *virūpas* need not be prohibited from taking *ēkaśēṣa* on account of their having no chance.

अपर आह

Another interprets the same *vārttika* in a different way.

न वा पदस्यार्थे प्रयोगात्

No, on account of *pada* being used to denote *artha*.

न वैष पक्ष एवास्ति प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेष इति

There is no chance only for this *pakṣa* III—v '*Prātipadikānām ēkaśēṣa....*'

किं कारणम्? Why?

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पदस्यार्थे प्रयोगात् । पदमर्थे प्रयुज्यते, विभक्त्यन्तं च पदम् । रूपं चेहाश्रीयते । रूपनिर्ग्रहश्च शब्दस्य नान्तरेण लौकिकं प्रयोगम् । तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे प्रातिपदिकानां प्रयोगो नास्ति

On account of the use of *pada* to denote *artha*. *Pada* is used to denote *artha* and *vibhaktyanta* alone is *pada*. *Rūpa* is taken into account in this *sūtra*. *Rūpa* of a word cannot be decided except with reference to its usage in the world. *Prātipadikas* are not used in the world.

III—v (*b*)

अथानेन पक्षेणार्थः स्यात् प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेष इति ?

Is there any *prayōjana* by taking recourse to the *pakṣa* '*Prātipadikānām ēkaśēṣaḥ ...*'?

Note :—Though *Vārttikakāra* has proved that this *pakṣa* cannot stand, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries to prove that it can stand.

बाढमर्थः Yes, certainly.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ? Is this to be said?

न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How is it understood without its being explained?

एतेनैवाभिहितं सूत्रेण सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ इति

It is explained by this *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣa ēkavibhaktāu* itself.

कथम् ? How?

विभक्तिः सारूप्येणाश्रीयते । अनैमित्तिक एकशेषः । एकविभक्तौ लौकिके प्रयोगे यानि सरूपाणि तेषामेकशेषो भवति

Vibhakti is taken to be the *āśraya* of *sārūpya* and *ēkaśēṣa* has no *nimitta*. Hence the *sūtra* means thus :-Those that are similar in form in worldly usage in the presence of a case-suffix take *ēkaśēṣa*.

क्व ? Where?

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यत्र वा तत्र वेति Wherever it is found.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* feels that *ēka* in *ēkavibhaktāu* does not serve any useful purpose. *Cf. Ekagrahaṇa-phalam tu cintyam ēva.*

III—iv (*b*)

अथानेन पक्षेणार्थः स्याद्विभक्त्यन्तानामेकशेष इति ?

Is there any *prayōjana* by taking recourse to the *pakṣa* '*Vibhaktyantānām ēkaśēṣaḥ*'?

बाढमर्थः Certainly, there is.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ? Is this to be explained?

NOTE :—The sentence '*Ekavibhaktīnām iti ṣaṣṭhyantam vaktavyam kimityarthaḥ*' in *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's Uddyōta* seems to be an interpolation.

न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How is it understood without its being explained?

एतदप्येतेनैवाभिहितं सूत्रेण सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ इति

This too is explained by this *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣa ēkavibhaktāu* itself.

कथम् ? How?

विभक्तिः सारूप्येणाश्रीयते [1]

Vibhakti is taken to be the *āśraya* of *sārūpya*.

नेदं पारिभाषिक्या विभक्तेर्ग्रहणम्

Vibhakti is not used in the technical sense.

किं तर्हि ? What is its sense then?

अन्वर्थग्रहणं विभागो विभक्तिरिति

It denotes its derivative meaning; *vibhāga* is the derivation of *vibhakti*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *vibhakti* denotes *karmādikāraka*.

1. This is not found in certain editions.

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एकविभागे यानि सरूपाणि तेषामेकशेषो भवतीति

The *sūtra* means that *ēkaśēṣa* is to those which have similar forms in one case.

ननु चोक्तम् कश्चिद्वचनलोपो द्विवचनबहुवचनविधिः द्वन्द्वप्रतिषेधश्च

Oh, it has been said that there will be difficulty in the elision of case-sûffix, that it will be necessary to enjoin the dual and plural suffixes and that its becoming a *dvandva* compound should be prohibited.

नैष दोषः, यत्तावदुच्यते कश्चिद्वचनलोपो द्विवचनबहुवचनविधिरिति

The difficulty stated first with reference to *vacanalōpa* and *dvivacanabahuvacanavidhi* does not arise.

सहविवक्षायामेकशेषः [1] - युगपद्विवक्षायामेकशेषेण भवितव्यम् । न तर्हि इदानीमिदं भवति - वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षौ, वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षा इति । नैतत्सहविवक्षायां भवति । अथापि निदर्शयितुं बुद्धिरेवं निदर्शयितव्यम्, वृक्षौ च वृक्षौ च वृक्षौ, वृक्षाश्च वृक्षाश्च वृक्षाश्च वृक्षा इति ।

Ēkaśēṣa takes place only when there is *sahavivakṣā*. *Ēkaśēṣa* should set in only when it is desired that all words should denote simultaneously all meanings. In that case *vṛkṣāu* cannot be the *ēkaśēṣa* of *vṛkṣaḥ ca* and *vṛkṣaḥ ca* and *vṛkṣāḥ* cannot be the *ēkaśēṣa* of *vṛkṣaḥ ca vṛkṣaḥ ca* and *vṛkṣaḥ ca*. This cannot be in *sahavivakṣā*. In order to demonstrate *ēkaśēṣa*, mind should think in this line:—*vṛkṣāu ca vṛkṣāu ca vṛkṣāu, vṛkṣāḥ ca vṛkṣāḥ ca vṛkṣāḥ ca vṛkṣāḥ*.

यदप्युच्यते द्वन्द्वप्रतिषेधश्च वक्तव्य इति, नैष दोषः

The difficulty that there is need for *dvandvapratiṣēdha* does not also arise.

अनवकाश एकशेषो द्वन्द्वं बाधिष्यते

Ēkaśēṣa which has no other room to operate sets at naught *dvandva*.

1. This is printed as a *vārttika* in all editions. From the context it seems better to take it as *bhāṣya* like *Atha śabdānuśānam*.

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ननु चोक्तं सावकाश एकशेषः

Oh, it was said that *ēkaśēṣa* has room to operate.

कोऽवकाशः ? What is the *avakāśa* ?

तिङन्तान्यवकाशः *Avakāśa* is *tiṅantas* (finite verbs).

न तिङन्तान्येकशेषारम्भं प्रयोजयन्ति

The injunction of *ēkaśēṣa* is not intended for *tiṅantas*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

यथाजातीयकानां द्वितीयस्य पदस्य प्रयोगे सामर्थ्यमस्ति तथाजातीयकानामेकशेषः। न च तिङन्तानां द्वितीयस्य पदस्य प्रयोगे सामर्थ्यमस्ति ।

Ekaśēṣa is only with reference to those words which are capable of being repeated. Finite verbs do not have the capacity of being repeated.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

एका हि क्रिया । एकेनोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम् उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति

For action is one. Since it is denoted by one word, it cannot be repeated to denote the same on the strength of the dictum *Uktārthānām aprayōgaḥ* (non-repetition of things said).

यदि तर्हि एका क्रिया, द्विवचनबहुवचनानि न सिध्यन्ति पचतः, पचन्ति

If then the action is one, it is not possible to arrive at the dual and plural forms like *pacataḥ* and *pacanti*.

नैतानि क्रियापेक्षाणि These do not depend upon the *kriyā*.

किं तर्हि ? Upon what then?

साधनापेक्षाणि

Upon the number of the *kartā* or *karma* denoted by the finite verbs.

III—i (*b*)

अथ वा पुनरस्तु एकविभक्तौ इति

Or let it be when there is *ēkavibhakti*

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ननु चोक्तम् एकविभक्ताविति चेन्नाभावाद्विभक्तेः इति

Oh, the objection *Ēkavibhaktāviti cēt na abhāvād vibhaktēḥ!* was raised.

नैष दोषः, परिहृतमेतत् अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकमिति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भविष्यति इति।

This difficulty does not arise. It has been answered that *prātipadikasaṁjñā* is secured by the *sūtra Arthavad....prātipadikam.*

ननु चोक्तम् नियमान्न प्राप्नोति, अर्थवत्समुदायानां समासग्रहणं नियमार्थमिति

Oh, it was said that it is not secured through the *niyama* that, if *arthavat-samudāya* gets the *saṁjñā*, it is only *samāsa.*

नैष दोषः, तुल्यजातीयस्य नियमः

No, this difficulty does not arise, since *niyama* operates only with reference to those of the same class.

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः? What belong to the same class?

यथाजातीयकानां समासः?

Those who are capable of being compounded together.

कथञ्जातीयकानां समासः?

Which are capable of being compounded together?

सुबन्तानाम्

Samāsa is possible only with *subantas* (nouns)

IV

सर्वत्रापत्यादिषूपसङ्ख्यानम्

Ēkaśēṣa should be stated in addition when *apatyapratyaya* etc. follow with reference to every *pakṣa.*

सर्वेषु पक्षेषु अपत्यादिषूपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । भिक्षाणां समूहो भैक्षम् इति

Ēkaśēṣa should be stated in addition before *apatyapratyaya* etc. with reference to all the cases discussed above.

सर्वत्र इत्युच्यते, प्रातिपदिकानां चैकशेषे सिद्धम्

The word *sarvatra* is mentioned in the *vārttika*; but the desired object is achieved in the *pakṣa* where the *ēkaśēṣa* of *prātipadikas* are acceded to.

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अपत्यादिषु इत्युच्यते, बहवश्च अपत्यादयः; गर्गस्य अपत्यं बहवो गर्गाः । एका प्रकृतिः बहवश्च यञः । असारूप्यादेकशेषो न प्राप्नोति ।

The word *apatyādiṣu* is read and *apatyādis* are many. Many *gargas* are the *apatya* of *Garga*. The stem is one and the *pratyayas yañ* are many. There is no *ēkaśēṣa* since they are not similar in form.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Tatra Garga-ya-ya-ya iti sthitē, samudāyasya taddhitāntatvāt prātipadikatvāt tata ēkā vibhaktiḥ, tatra prathamasya ya-śabdasya prakṛtisannipātakṛtam vāirūpyam iti ēkaśēṣō na prāpnōti.*

ननु च यथैव बहवो यञः, एवं प्रकृतयोऽपि बह्व्यः स्युः

As *yañs* are many, let the stems as well be many.

नैवं शक्यम्; इह हि दोषः स्यात् - गर्गा वत्सा बिदा उर्वा इति । अञ्यो बहुषु यञ्यो बहुषु इत्युच्यमानो लुङ् न प्राप्नोति ।

This is not possible; for the difficulty will arise in the forms *gargāḥ, vatsāḥ, bidāḥ* and *urvāḥ.* There will be no chance for the elision of *añ* or *yañ* after the stem denoting *bahutva.*

NOTE:—If there is elision of all *yañ* except the first, there is chance for its *luk* by the *sūtra Yañ-añōśca* (2, 4, 64). If, on the other hand, it is acceded that *gārgyas* except the first are elided, there is chance for the *ya* of the first *gārgya* since it does not denote *bahutva.*

मा भूदेवम्; अञन्तं यद्बहुषु यञन्तं यद्बहुषु इत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so; elision takes place in *añanta* and *yañanta* which denote *bahutva.*

ननु चोक्तम् - नैवं शक्यमिह हि दोषः स्यात् - काश्यपप्रतिकृतयः काश्यपा इति

Oh, it has been said that it is not possible since difficulty will arise in the form *kāśyapāḥ* which means the portraits of *Kāśyapa.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says here that, if that point is acceded to, the form will have to be *kāśyapaḥ*; but the word *kāśyapāḥ* alone is used to denote the portraits of the *apatya* of *Kāśyapa.*

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नैष दोषः । लौकिकस्य तत्र गोत्रस्य ग्रहणम् । न चैतद् लौकिकं गोत्रम्
This difficulty does not arise. There, (in the *sūtras*) mention is made of the *gōtra* found in the world. This (the *pratikṛti*) is not *lāukika gōtra*.

NOTE:—*Gōtra* is the *saṁjñā* denoting the descendants of one from his grandson downwards. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tells us that the *pratyayas* have reference to words denoting human beings and not portraits.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु एका प्रकृतिर्बह्वश्च यञः
Or let it be that the stem is one and *yañ-pratyayas* are many.

ननु चोक्तमसारूप्यादेकशेषो न प्राप्नोतीति
Oh, it was said that there is no chance for *ēkaśēṣa* on account of *asārūpya*.

सिद्धं तु समानार्थानामेकशेषवचनात्
The object is achieved by enjoining *ēkaśēṣa* of words having the same *pravṛttinimitta*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

समानार्थानामेकशेषो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्
It is necessary to enjoin that words having the same *pravṛttinimitta* take *ēkaśēṣa*.

यदि समानार्थानामेकशेष उच्यते, कथमक्षाः पादाः माषा इति?
If it is said that synonyms take *ēkaśēṣa*, how is it possible for homonyms like *akṣāḥ*, *pādāḥ* and *māṣāḥ* to take *ēkaśēṣa*?

नानार्थानामपि सरूपाणाम् For the homonyms also.

नानार्थानामपि सरूपाणामेकशेषो वक्तव्यः
Injunction is to be made of *ēkaśēṣa* to homonyms too.

एकार्थानामपि विरूपाणाम् Of synonyms too.

एकार्थानामपि विरूपाणामेकशेषो वक्तव्यः - वक्रदण्डश्च कुटिलदण्डश्च वक्रदण्डौ, कुटिलदण्डौ इति वा

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Ekaśēṣa has to be enjoined to synonyms, so that *Vakradaṇḍaś ca Kuṭiladaṇḍaś ca* may become either *Vakradaṇḍāu* or *Kuṭiladaṇḍāu.*

NOTE:—The difference between *samānārthas* and *ēkārthas* deserves to be noted: the former refer to those words which have the same *pravṛttinimitta* and the latter refer to those words which have different *pravṛttinimittas.*

स्वरभिन्नानां यस्योत्तरस्वरविधिः

Of those which have different syllables of *udātta*, with that of the latter.

स्वरभिन्नानां यस्योत्तरस्वरविधिः तस्यैकशेषो वक्तव्यः, अक्षश्च अक्षश्च अक्षौ, मीमांसकश्च मीमांसकश्च मीमांसकौ

Ekaśēṣa of those which have different *udātta* syllables, having that of the latter has to be enjoined, so that *akṣaś ca akṣaś ca* may become *akṣāu* and *mīmāṁsakaś ca mīmāṁsakaś ca* may become *mīmāṁsakāu.*

NOTE:—The word *akṣa,* if it means a die, has its second syllable *udātta* and if it means axle etc. has its first syllable *udātta.* The word *mīmāṁsaka* has its second syllable *udātta,* if it means an investigator and it has its first syllable *udātta,* if it means one who studies *Mīmāṁsā.*

V

इह कस्मान्न भवति एकश्च एकश्च, द्वौ च द्वौ च इति ?

Why does not *ēkaśēṣa* find a place with reference to *ēkaś ca ēkaś ca* and *dvāu ca dvāu ca* ?

सङ्ख्याया अर्थासंप्रत्ययादन्यपदार्थत्वाच्चानेकशेषः

Absence of *ēkaśēṣa* with reference to certain numbers on account of their not denoting the desired meaning and on account of the meaning being conveyed by another word.

सङ्ख्याया अर्थासम्प्रत्ययादेकशेषो न भविष्यति । न हि एकौ इत्यनेन अर्थो गम्यते

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There is no *ēkaśēṣa* with reference to certain numbers; for the word *ēkāu* does not convey any meaning.

अन्यपदार्थत्वाच्च सङ्ख्याया एकशेषो न भविष्यति; एकश्च एकश्च इत्यस्य द्वौ इत्यर्थः, द्वौ च द्वौ च इत्यस्य चत्वार इत्यर्थः

There is no *ēkaśēṣa* with reference to certain numbers, since *dvāu* gives the meaning of *ēkaś ca ēkaś ca* and *catvāraḥ* gives the meaning of *dvāu ca dvāu ca*.

नैतौ स्तः परिहारौ

These two cannot be satisfactory reasons for its absence.

यत्तावदुच्यते सङ्ख्याया अर्थासम्प्रत्ययादिति, अर्थासम्प्रत्ययेऽपि हि सत्येकशेषो भवति । तद्यथा गार्ग्यश्च गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ, न चोच्यते वृद्धयुवानाविति, भवति चैकशेषः

With reference to what was stated at first that there is no *ēkaśēṣa* on account of their conveying no meaning, there is *ēkaśēṣa* even when the meaning is endowed with ambiguity. There is *ēkaśēṣa* in *Gārgyāu* of *Gārgyaḥ* and *Gārgyāyaṇaḥ* though it is not stated that it is so of *vṛddhapratyayānta* and *yuvapratyayānta*.

NOTE :—*Gārgyāu* may be split into *Gārgyaś ca Gārgyaś ca* or *Gārgyaś ca Gārgyāyaṇaś ca.*

यदप्युच्यते अन्यपदार्थत्वाच्च इति, अन्यपदार्थेऽपि एकशेषो भवति, तद्यथा विंशतिश्च विंशतिश्च विंशती इति; तयोः चत्वारिंशद् इत्यर्थः ।

With reference to the other objection that their meaning is conveyed by another word, there is *ēkaśēṣa* even when their meaning is conveyed by another word. There is *ēkaśēṣa* of *viṁśatiś ca viṁśatiś ca* in *viṁśatī*, though *catvāriṁśat* conveys the same meaning.

एवं तर्हि नेमौ पृथक्परिहारौ । एकपरिहारोऽयं सङ्ख्याया अर्थासम्प्रत्ययाद् अन्यपदार्थत्वाच्च इति । यत्र हि अर्थासम्प्रत्यय एव वा अन्यपदार्थतैव वा भवति तत्र एकशेषो गार्ग्यौ, विंशती इति यथा ।

If so, these two are not considered as two reasons for its absence. *Arthāsampratyaya* and *anyapadārthatva* of *saṅkhyā*

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are considered as one reason conjointly. There is *ēkaśēṣa* as in *Gārgyāu* and *viṁśatī* where one of the two-*arthāsampratyaya* and *anyapadārthatā*-exists.

अथ वा नेमे एकशेषशब्दाः

Or these (*dvāu* etc.) are not *ēkaśēṣaśabdas*.

यदि तर्हि नेमे एकशेषशब्दाः समुदायशब्दास्तर्हि भवन्ति

If, then, they are not *ēkaśēṣaśabdas*, they have to be considered *samudāyaśabdas*.

NOTE :—*Samudāyaśabdas* are those which give collective sense and *ēkaśēṣaśabdas* are those where sense is taken individually.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

एकवचनं प्राप्नोति । एकार्था हि समुदाया भवन्ति । तद्यथा यूथं, शतं, वनम् इति

Singular suffix will have to be attached to them. Groups give only collective sense. For example, the words *yūtham*, *śatam* and *vanam*.

सन्तु तर्हि एकशेषशब्दाः Let them be, then, *ēkaśēṣaśabdas*.

किंकृतं सारूप्यम् ?

Where is *sārūpya* between what is left and the *vigrahavākya* ?

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :- *Ēkaś ca ēkaś ca iti vigrahē katham dviśabdaḥ pravartatē iti praśnaḥ*. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* explains it thus :-*Ēkaś ca ēkaś ca iti vigrahē śiṣyamāṇa-dvi-śabdēna kim sādṛśyam*.

NOTE :—2. *Kim* may be taken in the sense of *katham*.

अन्योन्यकृतं सारूप्यम्

Sārūpya is acquired through *parasparāpēkṣā*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :- *Parasparāpēkṣayā dvitvōtpattāu satyām prakriyāvākyam idam bhavati dvāu ca dvāu ca iti*.

सन्ति पुनः केचिदन्येऽपि शब्दा येषामन्योन्यकृतो भावः ?

Are there other words whose *pravṛttinimitta* is through *parasparāpēkṣā* ?

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सन्तीत्याह - माता, पिता, भ्राता इति

'Yes, there are', says he. They are *mātā*, *pitā*, and *bhrātā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says here that, just as a woman after giving birth to a child gets the designation 'mother', so also the word *ēka* takes the form *dvāu* when there is *ēkaśēṣa* between *ēka* and *ēka*.

विषम उपन्यासः । सकृदेते शब्दाः प्रवृत्ता अपायेष्वपि वर्तन्ते ; इह पुनरेकेनाप्यपाये न भवति चत्वार इति ।

The analogy is not sound. These words, (*pitā* etc.) when once used, are used even when the object which brought them into existence disappears. But here with reference to numbers, if one is taken away from four, it cannot be named four.

अन्यद् इदानीमेतद् उच्यते - सकृदेते शब्दाः प्रवृत्ता अपायेष्वपि वर्तन्ते - इति

This is an entirely different thing that these words when once used are used even when the object which brought them into existence disappears.

यत्तु भवानस्मांश्चोदयति सन्ति पुनः केचिदन्येऽपि शब्दा येषामन्योन्यकृतो भाव इति; तत्रैते अस्माभिरुपन्यस्ताः

These words were given by us as answer to the question put by you, sir, whether there are other words whose *pravṛtti-nimitta* is through *parasparāpēkṣā*.

तत्रैतद्भवानाह - सकृदेते शब्दाः प्रवृत्ता अपायेष्वपि वर्तन्ते इति । एतच्च वार्तम्

There you say that those words when once used are used even in the absence of the object which brought them into existence and it is a flimsy argument.

NOTE:—The sentence *ētac ca vārtam*, when it is taken with the sentence that precedes, means *this is a flimsy argument* and if it is taken with what follows, it means it is but proper. *Kāiyaṭa* takes it in the latter sense, while *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* seems to prefer the former.

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एकैको नोद्यन्तुं भारं शक्नोति यत्कथं तत्र ।
एकैकः कर्ता स्यात्सर्वे वा स्युः कथं युक्तम् ॥
कारणमुद्यमनं चेन्नोद्यच्छति चान्तरेण तत्तुल्यम् ।
तस्मात् पृथक् पृथक् ते कर्तारः सव्यपेक्षास्तु ॥

When each man cannot singly lift a weight, how can each become the *kartā* or how can all become so? If the cause is lifting, one does not lift it without the help of another. Hence each depending on others becomes the *kartā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :- *Yathā udyantṝṇām paras-parasannidhikṛtam kartṛtvam ēkāikāpāyē ca nivartatē ca tathā dvyādivyapadēśōpi.*

VI

प्रथममध्यमोत्तमानामेकशेषोऽसरूपत्वात्

Need to enjoin the *ēkaśēṣa* of the words of the third person, the second person and the first person, on account of their having different forms.

प्रथममध्यमोत्तमानामेकशेषो वक्तव्यः । पचति च पचसि च पचथः, पचसि च पचामि च पचावः, पचति च पचसि च पचामि च पचामः ।

It is necessary to mention *ēkaśēṣa* to the words of the third person, the second person and the first person, so that *pacataḥ* may be used in place of *pacati ca pacasi ca*, *pacāvaḥ*, in place of *pacasi* and *pacāmi* and *pacāmaḥ* in place of *pacati ca pacasi ca pacāmi ca*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why is it not achieved?

असरूपत्वात् On account of dissimilarity in form.

NOTE:—1. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* here says *asamānaśabdatvād asamānārthatvāc ca*. But this seems to differ from the idea of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* who says at the beginning of this *sūtra* *Śrutāu ca rūpagrahaṇam.*

NOTE:—2. Even though *Vārttikakāra* has mentioned above only the words denoting the third, the second and the first person, it is not easy to understand why *Mahābhāṣyakāra*

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has given examples only from finite verbs and not from pronouns also thus :-*sa ca tvam ca yuvām* ; *tvam ca aham ca āvām* ; *sa ca tvam ca aham ca vayam.*

VII—i (a)

द्विवचनबहुवचनाप्रसिद्धिश्चैकार्थत्वात्

Non-accomplishment of *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana*, on account of the singularity of meaning of that which remains.

द्विवचनबहुवचनयोश्चाप्रसिद्धिः

Non-accomplishment of *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

एकार्थत्वात् । एकोऽयमवशिष्यते तेनानेन तदर्थेन भवितव्यम्

On account of the singularity of the meaning. Only one word remains and it should stand along only with its meaning.

किमर्थेन? With what *artha?*

यदर्थ एकः With that *artha* which one word has.

किमर्थश्चैकः? What is the *artha* which one word has?

एक एकार्थः Oneness is the *artha* of the one word.

नैकार्थ्यम् Its non-having *ēkārthatva.*

नायमेकार्थः It does not denote only one object.

किं तर्हि? What then?

द्व्यर्थो बह्वर्थश्च It has the meaning of two and many.

नैकार्थ्यमिति चेद् आरम्भानर्थक्यम्

If *nāikārthyam* is acceded to, there is no need for this *sūtra.*

नैकार्थ्यमिति चेद् एकशेषारम्भोऽनर्थकः स्यात्

If *nāikārthyam* is acceded to, this *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkśēṣaḥ....* is of no use.

इह हि शब्दस्य स्वाभाविकी वा अनेकार्थता स्याद्, वाचनिकी वा?

Is the *anēkārthatā* of *śabda* here natural or *kālpanikī?*

तद्यदि तावद् स्वाभाविकी If, at first, it is taken to be natural,

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अशिष्य एकशेष एकेनोक्तत्वात्

Ekaśēṣa need not be enjoined, on account of its being denoted by one.

अशिष्य एकशेषः *Ekaśēṣa* need not be enjoined.

किं कारणम्? Why?

एकेनोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम् उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति ।

Since the meaning is denoted by one, there is no need for the use of the second on the strength of the dictum 'Do not repeat what has been said.'

अथ वाचनिकी, तद्वक्तव्यम्, एकोऽयमवशिष्यते स च द्व्यर्थो भवति बह्वर्थश्च इति

If it is *kālp ınikī*, it is to be read that one is left behind and it denotes two objects and more.

NOTE :– *Kāiyaṭa* says :– *Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣōsnēkārthaś cāika-vibhaktāu iti vaktavyam ityarthaḥ.*

न वक्तव्यम्, सिद्धमेकशेष इत्येव

No, it need not be read. The object is achieved by the injunction of *ēkaśēṣa*.

कथं पुनरेकोऽयमवशिष्यत इत्यनेन द्व्यर्थता बह्वर्थता च शक्या लब्धुम्?

How is it that, from the statement that one is left behind, it can denote two objects and more?

तच्च एकशेषकृतम् It is evidently done by *ēkaśēṣa*.

न ह्यन्तरेण तद्वाचिनः शब्दस्य प्रयोगं तस्यार्थस्य गतिर्भवति ।

It is not possible to arrive at that meaning, unless there is a word to convey it.

पश्यामश्च पुनरन्तरेणापि तद्वाचिनः प्रयोगं तस्यार्थस्य गतिर्भवति, अग्निचित् सोमसुत् इति यथा

Oh, we see that it is possible to arrive at a meaning even without anything denoting it, as in the words *agnicit* and *sōmasut*.

NOTE :—The nominative singular suffix is absent in the words *agnicit* and *sōmasut*, but its meaning of *kartṛtva* exists there.

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ते मन्यामहे लोपकृतमेतद् येनात्र अन्तरेणापि तद्वाचिनः शब्दस्य प्रयोगं तस्यार्थस्य गतिर्भवति इति

We think that it is due to the elision (of the case-suffix), since its meaning exists even in the absence of *vācaka*.

एवमिहाप्येकशेषकृतमेतद् । येनात्र एकोऽयमवशिष्यते इत्यनेन द्व्यर्थता बह्वर्थता च भवति

So also it is here due to the *ēkaśēṣa*. The statement that one is left behind makes it denote two objects and more.

उच्येत तर्हि न तु गम्येत । यो हि गामश्व इति ब्रूयाद् अश्वं वा गौरिति, न जातुचित् सम्प्रत्ययः स्यात्

Let it, then, be told and not suggested. He who calls a cow by the word horse and horse by the word cow cannot have clear comprehension.

तेन अनेकार्थाभिधाने यत्नं कुर्वता अवश्यं लोकः पृष्ठतोऽनुगन्तव्यः, केष्वर्थेषु लौकिकाः कान् शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जत इति

Therefore the world is necessarily to be followed by one who makes an attempt to enable a word give many meanings. He should see which words men in the world use in particular meanings.

लोके च एकैकस्मिन् वृक्षः इति प्रयुञ्जते, द्वयोः वृक्षौ इति, बहुषु वृक्षाः इति

They use in the world the word *vṛkṣaḥ* to denote one tree, *vṛkṣāu* to denote two trees and *vṛkṣāḥ* to denote many trees.

यदि तर्हि लोकोऽवश्यं शब्देषु प्रमाणं, किमर्थमेकशेष आरभ्यते ?

If, then, the world is necessarily the authority with reference to the usage of words, what is the need for this *ēkaśēṣa-sūtra?*

अथ किमर्थं लोप आरभ्यते ?

Why, then, is the *sūtra* enjoining elision read ?

प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमाचार्यः प्रार्थयमानो लोपमारभते, एकशेषारम्भे पुनरस्य न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमस्ति ।

Ācārya reads *lōpa-vidhāyaka-sūtra* for the dictum *pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* to operate; but there is absolutely no benefit in reading *ēkaśēṣa-sūtra*.

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ननु चोक्तं प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशान्नैकेनानेकस्याभिधानम् इति । यदि चैकेनानेकस्याभिधानं स्यात् न प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशः कृतः स्यात्

Oh, it was said that one is not capable of denoting many on account of each object being denoted by a separate word. If, on the other hand, one is capable of denoting many, separate words need not be used to denote each object separately.

प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशान्नैकेनानेकस्याभिधानादप्रत्यर्थमिति चेत्तदपि प्रत्यर्थमेव

If it is said that separate words need not be used to denote each object separately since one is not capable of denoting many on account of each object being denoted by a separate word, the word denoting two or more is used to denote one group alone.

प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशान्नैकेनानेकस्याभिधानाद् अप्रत्यर्थमिति चेत्, एवमुच्यते यद्यप्येकेनानेकस्याभिधानं भवति तदपि प्रत्यर्थमेव । यदपि ह्यर्थावर्थौ प्रति तदपि प्रत्यर्थमेव, यदपि ह्यर्थानर्थान् प्रति प्रत्यर्थमेव ।

If it is said that separate words need not be used to denote each object separately since one is not capable of denoting many on account of each object being denoted by a separate word, it is answered that the word denoting two or more is used to denote one group alone. That which denotes two objects denotes only one group and that which denotes many objects denotes also only one group.

यावतामभिधानं तावतां प्रयोगो न्याय्यः

It is but right to use a word to denote all meanings which it is capable of denoting.

यावतामर्थानामभिधानं भवति तावतां शब्दानां प्रयोग इत्येव पक्षो न्याय्यः

It is this *pakṣa* alone that is right that allows the use of a word to denote all meanings which it is capable of denoting

यावतामभिधानं तावतां प्रयोगो न्याय्य इति चेदेकेनाप्यनेकस्याभिधानम्

If it is taken that it is right to allow the use of a word to denote all meanings which it is capable of denoting, one will denote many meanings.

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यावतामभिधानं तावतां प्रयोगो न्याय्य इति चेदेवमुच्यते, एषोऽपि पक्षो न्याय्य एव यदप्येकेनानेकस्याभिधानं भवति

If it is said that it is but proper to use a word in all senses which it is capable of denoting, this *pakṣa* too will be right to use a word to denote many.

यदि तर्हि एकेनानेकस्याभिधानं भवति प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ

If, then, one can denote many, the *prayōga plakṣanyagrōdhāu*—

एकेनोक्तत्वादपरस्य प्रयोगोऽनुपपन्नः

The use of another is unnecessary, on one giving its meaning too.

एकेनोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्यापरस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम्

Since its meaning is expressed by one, there is no need to use the other word.

किं कारणम्? Why?

उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति

On account of the dictum of the non-use of words whose meaning has already been expressed.

एकेनोक्तत्वादपरस्य प्रयोगोऽनुपपन्न इति चेदनुक्तत्वात् प्लक्षेण न्यग्रोधस्य न्यग्रोधप्रयोगः

If it is said that there is no need of reading that whose meaning has already been expressed by another, the word *nyagrōdha* is read, since its meaning has not been expressed by *plakṣa*.

एकेनेक्तत्वादपरस्य प्रयोगोऽनुपपन्न इति चेदनुक्तः प्लक्षेण न्यग्रोधार्थ इति कृत्वा न्यग्रोधशब्दः प्रयुज्यते ।

If it is said that there is no need of reading that whose meaning has already been expressed by another, the word *nyagrōdha* is read on the assumption that its meaning has not been expressed by the word *plakṣa*.

कथमनुक्तः, यदिदानीमेव उक्तम् एकेनाप्यनेकस्याभिधानं भवति इति ?

How is it that it is not expressed, even though it has just been announced that one may express many ?

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सरूपाणामेकेनाप्यनेकस्याभिधानं भवति, न विरूपाणाम्

There is denotation of many even by one, of those which are similar and not dissimilar.

किं पुनः कारणं सरूपाणामेकेनाप्यनेकस्याभिधानं भवति, न पुनर्विरूपाणाम् ?

Why is it that one can denote many of similar things and not many of dissimilar things ?

अभिधानं पुनः स्वाभाविकम् Such *abhidhāna* is but natural.

स्वाभाविकमभिधानम् It is the natural *abhidhāna*.

उभयदर्शनाच्च On account of both being seen.

उभयं खल्वपि दृश्यते । विरूपाणामपि एकेनानेकस्याभिधानं भवति – तद्यथा द्यावा ह क्षामा, द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते इति । विरूपाणां किल नामैकेनानेकस्याभिधानं स्यात्, किं पुनः सरूपाणाम् ?

Both are seen. Many are denoted by one even though they are dissimilar.

Dyāvā ha kṣāmā (R. V. 10, 12, 1)

and

Dyāvā cid asmāi pṛthivī namētē (R. V. 2, 12, 13)

are examples for the same. When many are denoted by one even though they are dissimilar, what need be said when they are similar ?

NOTE :—1. It is taken that each of *dyāvā* and *kṣāmā*, the component parts of the *Vēdic* dual *dyāvākṣāmā*, denotes both *dyāu* and *pṛthivī* and so also each of *dyāvā* and *pṛthivī*, the component parts of the *Vēdic* dual *dyāvāpṛthivī*.

NOTE :—2. The *sūtra* is set at naught, in the *dravyābhidhānapakṣa*, by *Vārttikakāra* through the two reasons *ēkēna uktatvāt* and *ubhayadarśanāc ca*.

VII—ii (*a*)

आकृत्यभिधानाद्वैकं विभक्तौ वाजप्यायनः

Vājapyāyana's wish to have only one *śabda* when it is followed by case-suffix, even when *padārtha* is taken to be *ākṛti* (genus).

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आकृत्यभिधानाद्वैकं शब्दं विभक्तौ वाजप्यायन आचार्यो न्याय्यं मन्यते । एका आकृतिः, सा च अभिधीयते

Ācārya Vājapyāyana thinks it proper to have only one *śabda* before a case-suffix even in *ākṛtipakṣa*. *Ākṛti* is one and it is denoted.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते एका आकृतिः सा चाभिधीयते इति ?

How is it known that *ākṛti* is one and it is denoted ?

प्रख्याविशेषात् On account of oneness in comprehension.

न हि गौरित्युक्ते विशेषः प्रख्यायते शुक्ला नीला कपिला कपोतिकेति

When the word *gāuḥ* is pronounced, the accessory qualities of being white, black, brown or grey are not comprehended.

यद्यपि तावत् प्रख्याविशेषात् ज्ञायते एका आकृतिरिति, कुतस्त्वेतत् सा अभिधीयते इति ?

Even though it is understood that genus is one through *prakhyā-aviśēṣa*, how is it known that it is denoted by it?

अव्यपवर्गगतेश्च Through *abhēdajñāna* too.

अव्यपवर्गगतेश्च मन्यामहे आकृतिरभिधीयते इति । न हि गौरित्युक्ते व्यपवर्गो गम्यते - शुक्ला नीला कपिला कपोतिकेति

We decide that genus is denoted through *abhēdajñāna*. When the word *gāuḥ* is pronounced, mind does not think of the colour-whiteness, blackness, brownness or greyness separately.

ज्ञायते चैकोपदिष्टम् It is recognised when once it is shown.

ज्ञायते खल्वप्येकोपदिष्टम् । गौरस्य कदाचिद् उपदिष्टो भवति । स तमन्यस्मिन् देशे अन्यस्मिन् काले अन्यस्यां च वयोवस्थायां दृष्ट्वा जानाति अयं गौः इति

It is definitely recognised when once it is shown. The cow is shown to one sometimes. On seeing it in another place, at another time and at a different growth, he recognises that it is a cow.

कः पुनरस्य विशेषः प्रख्याविशेषाद् इत्यतः ?

How does this (*jñāyatē cāikōpadiṣṭam*) differ from *prakyā-aviśēṣāt*?

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तस्यैवोपोद्बलकमेतत् प्रख्याविशेषाद् ज्ञायते चैकोपदिष्टम् इति

This strengthens it—that *ēkōpadiṣṭa-jñāna* is through *prakhyā-aviśēṣa*.

धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा *Dharmaśāstra*, too, holds the same view.

एवं च कृत्वा धर्मशास्त्रं प्रवृत्तं - ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः, सुरा न पेया - इति, ब्राह्मणमात्रं च न हन्यते, सुरामात्रं च न पीयते । यदि द्रव्यं पदार्थः स्याद् एकं ब्राह्मणम् अहत्वा एकां च सुरामपीत्वा अन्यत्र कामचारः स्यात् ।

Dharmaśāstra came into existence on this assumption. The injunctions *Brāhmaṇō na hantavyaḥ* and *Surā na pēyā* tell us that no brahman should be killed and no kind of *surā* should be drunk. If, on the other hand, individuality is taken to be the *padārtha,* one is prevented from killing only one brahman and from drinking only one kind of *surā* and he is at liberty to do what he likes with the rest.

कः पुनरत्र विशेषोऽव्यपवर्गगतेश्चेत्यतः ?

How does this differ from *avyapavargagatēḥ* ?

तस्यैवोपोद्बलकमेतत् - अव्यपवर्गगतेश्च, धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा इति

This *Dharmaśāstram ca tathā*, strengthens it-*Avyapavargagatēś ca.*

अस्ति चैकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपत्

There is one who is seen simultaneously in different places.

अस्ति खल्वप्येकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपल्लभ्यते ?

Is there any one who is seen simultaneously at different places?

NOTE:—There is no *vivakṣā* for the meaning of the root in *asti.*

अस्ति इत्याह [1] 'There is,' says he.

किम् ? What is it?

आदित्यः Sun.

1. This is not found in some editions.

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तद्यथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्थो युगपदुपलभ्यते

Sun, who is one, is seen simultaneously at different places.

विषम उपन्यासः ; नैको द्रष्टा आदित्यमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपदुपलभते

The argument is not sound. A single individual does not see the sun simultaneously in many places.

एवं तर्हि If so,

इतीन्द्रवद्विषयः The object is like the word *Indra*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Śabdaprādurbhāvē avyayībhāvē kṛtē vatiḥ pratyayaḥ*.

तद्यथा, एक इन्द्रोऽनेकस्मिन् क्रतुशते आहूतो युगपत् सर्वत्र भवति । एवमाकृतिरपि युगपत् सर्वत्र भविष्यति ।

Just as one word *Indra* pronounced simultaneously in hundreds of sacrifices, becomes the *aṅga* of all the sacrifices at the same time, so also genus too exists everywhere simultaneously.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् - एकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपद् उपलभ्यत इति

This is necessarily to be admitted that one can be seen simultaneously in many places.

नैकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपदिति चेत् तथैकशेषे

If one says that an object cannot be seen at different places at the same time, there will be difficulty in *ēkaśēṣa*.

यो हि मन्यते नैकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपद् उपलभ्यत इति, एकशेषे तस्य दोषः स्यात् । एकशेषेऽपि नैको वृक्षशब्दोऽनेकमर्थं युगपद् अभिदधीत

There will be difficulty in *ēkaśēṣa* for one who does not admit that an object can remain simultaneously at different places. In *ēkaśēṣa* too one word *vṛkṣa* cannot denote many things at the same time.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयमाकृतिरभिधीयत इति

It is necessarily to be taken that *ākṛti* is *padārtha*.

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द्रव्याभिधाने ह्याकृत्यसम्प्रत्ययः [1]
If *dravya* is *padārtha*, *śabda* will not connote *ākṛti*.

द्रव्याभिधाने सत्याकृतेरसम्प्रत्ययः स्यात्
If *śabda* connotes *dravya*, it cannot connote *jāti*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm then?

तत्रासर्वद्रव्यगतिः [2]
In that case it cannot denote all *dravyas*.

तत्रासर्वद्रव्यगतिः प्राप्नोति
In that case it chances that it cannot denote all *dravyas*.

असर्वद्रव्यगतौ को दोषः ?
What is the harm if it does not denote all *dravyas*?

गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीयः इति । एकः शास्त्रोक्तं कुर्वीत, अपरोऽशास्त्रोक्तम् । अशास्त्रोक्ते च क्रियमाणे विगुणं कर्म भवति । विगुणे च कर्मणि फलानवाप्तिः
There is the injunction that a bull should be killed in *anubandhya-iṣṭi* and a goat should be killed to propitiate *Agni* and *Sōma*. One person alone will be considered to do it according to *śāstras* and all the rest will be considered to do it what is not enjoined by *śāstras*. If a *karma* not enjoined in *śāstras* is done, it cannot be taken to be properly done. If it is not properly done, it does not bear the desired fruit.

ननु च यस्याप्याकृतिः पदार्थः, तस्यापि यद्यनवयवेन चोद्यते न चानुबध्यते, विगुणं कर्म भवति । विगुणे च कर्मणि फलानवाप्तिः । एका आकृतिरिति च प्रतिज्ञा हीयेत । यच्चास्य पक्षस्योपादाने प्रयोजनम्, एकशेषो न वक्तव्यः इति, स चेदानीं वक्तव्यो भवति ।

Oh, even with reference to him who holds that *ākṛti* is *padārtha*, if the injunction refers to *jāti* without having for its *ālambana* a particular *vyakti*, it cannot be killed and the *karma* is not properly done. When the *karma* is not properly done, the desired fruit is not obtained. The standpoint that

1. & 2. Pandit Sivadatta's edition reads these two *vārttikas* as one.

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jāti is one will fall down and consequently the hold that *ēkaśēṣa-vidhāyaka-sūtra* need not be read in that *pakṣa* will give way and it will have to be read.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here: *Sarvaviṣayā cēd ākṛtiḥ cōdyatē tadā sarvavyaktiviṣayam anuṣṭhānam vinā vāiguṇyam ēva syād ityarthaḥ.*

एवं तर्हि अनवयवेन चोद्यते, प्रत्येकं च परिसमाप्यते, यथा आदित्यः

If so, the injunction is without referring to *vyaktiviśēṣa*; but it is considered to be fulfilled if it acts upon individually, as the sun shines fully in any particular place.

ननु च यस्यापि द्रव्यं पदार्थः, तस्याप्यनवयवेन चोद्यते, प्रत्येकं च परिसमाप्यते

Oh, even according to him who holds that *dravya* is *padārtha*, the injunction may not refer to *vyaktiviśēṣa* and it may be considered to be fulfilled if it acts upon individually.

एकशेषस्त्वया वक्तव्यः

Ēkaśēṣa-vidhāyaka-sūtra will have to be read by you (who hold that *dravya* is *padārtha*).

त्वयापि तर्हि द्विवचनबहुवचनानि साध्यानि ।

Dvivacana and *bahuvacana* have to be established by you too (who hold that *ākṛti* is *padārtha*).

चोदनायां चैकस्योपाधिवृत्तेः

On account of the repetition of the *upādhi* of the one *padārtha* mentioned in *cōdanā*.

चोदनायां चैकस्योपाधिवृत्तेर्मन्यामहे आकृतिरभिधीयते इति

We think that *ākṛti* is *padārtha* on account of the *upādhi* of the *padārtha* mentioned in *cōdanā* being repeated.

आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत् - एकं निरुप्य द्वितीयस्तृतीयश्च निरुप्यते

There is the injunction *Āgnēyam aṣṭākapālam nirvapēt.* Having done the first *nirvāpa* the second and third are done.

NOTE:—1. The taking of grain for making *purōdāśa* is called *nirvāpa*.

NOTE:—2. The *purōḍāśa*, the *vapā* etc. intended for *Agni* is the *padārtha* and *aṣṭākāpālatvādi* is the *upādhi*.

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यदि च द्रव्यं पदार्थः स्यादेकं निरुप्य द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य च निर्वपणं न प्रकल्पेत

If, on the other hand, *dravya* is *padārtha*, the second and the third *nirvāpa* will not be possible after the first.

कः पुनरेतयोर्जातिचोदनयोर्विशेषः ?

What is the difference between these two *cōdanās* with reference to *jāti*?

NOTE:—The two *cōdanās* are:—(1) *Gāur anubandhyaḥ*, (2) *Āgnēyam aṣṭākapālam nirvapēt*.

एका निर्वृत्तेन, अपरा निर्वर्त्येन

One about that which has been made ready and the other about that which has to be made ready.

VII—i (*b*)

द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः *Vyāḍi* thinks *dravya* to be *padārtha*.

द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिराचार्यो न्याय्यं मन्यते - द्रव्यमभिधीयते इति ।

Ācārya Vyāḍi thinks that it is right to take that *vyakti* is *padārtha* (i.e.) the *abhidhāviṣaya* of *śabda* is *vyakti*.

NOTE:—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Jātēḥ vṛttivikalpākṣamatvēna abhāvam manyamānō Vyāḍir dravyam ēva śabdēna abhidhīyatē iti manyatē*.

NOTE:—2. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says:—*Tattat - saṁsthānādyupalakṣitam adhiṣṭhāna-cāitanyam ēva dravyam*.

तथा च लिङ्गवचनसिद्धिः

The appropriateness of gender and number only then.

एवं च कृत्वा लिङ्गवचनानि सिद्धानि भवन्ति, ब्राह्मणी, ब्राह्मणः, ब्राह्मणौ ब्राह्मणाः इति

Only on that understanding genders and numbers become appropriate.

Ex. *brāhmaṇī* (fem. sing.), *brāhmaṇaḥ* (masc. sing.), *brāhmaṇāu* (masc. dual) and *brāhmaṇāḥ* (masc. plural).

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चोदनासु च तस्यारम्भात्

On account of action being taken to it at injunctions.

चोदनासु च तस्यारम्भान्मन्यामहे द्रव्यमभिधीयते इति

We think that *dravya* is *padārtha*, since action is taken to *dravya* on hearing *vidhivākyas*.

गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इति । आकृतौ चोदितायां द्रव्ये आरम्भणालम्भनप्रोक्षणविशसनादीनि क्रियन्ते

There are the *cōdanās*, *Gāuḥ anubandhyaḥ* and *Ajaḥ agnīṣōmīyaḥ*. Though *jāti* is referred to in *cōdanā*, *ārambhaṇa* (purchase), *ālambhana* (tying to the *yūpa*), *prōkṣaṇa* (sprinkling with water), *viśasana* (killing) etc. are done only to *dravya*.

न चैकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपत्

One cannot exist simultaneously in many places.

न खल्वप्येकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपदुपलभ्यते । न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत् स्रुघ्ने भवति मथुरायां च ।

Nothing is found to exist simultaneously in many places. The same *Dēvadatta* cannot remain at the same time at *Srughna* and at *Mathurā*.

विनाशे प्रादुर्भावे च सर्वं तथा स्यात्

The whole *jāti* will have to die or be born if one dies or is born.

किम् ? What?

विनश्येच्च प्रादुष्याच्च It may die or be born.

श्वा मृत इति श्वा नाम लोके न प्रचरेत् । गौर्जात इति सर्वं गोभूतमनवकाशं स्यात्

If one dog dies, there will be no opportunity to call another dog a dog. If one cow is born, there is no opportunity for other cows of the same genus to be called so.

NOTE :—1. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says here :—*Vyāsajyavṛttir jātiḥ sarvavyaktibhiḥ sambhūya abhivyajyatē iti matē idam dūṣaṇam.*

NOTE :—2. An alternative meaning to the sentence *sarvam gōbhūtam anavakāśam syāt* is given by *Kāiyaṭa* thus :-

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Sarvēṣu padārthēṣu gōpratyayaprasaṅgaḥ. This is explained by *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* thus :-*Gōbhūtam abhivyaktagōtvēna vyāptam tulya-vyaktitvēna jātyantarāvakāśarahitam sarvam syāt.*

अस्ति च वैरूप्यम् Dissimilarity too exists.

अस्ति खल्वपि वैरूप्यं गौश्च गौश्च खण्डो मुण्ड इति

There is dissimilarity too (among them), as is seen in the statements *khaṇḍō gāuḥ* (fractured cow) *muṇḍō gauḥ* and (cow without hair).

NOTE :—It seems to me that the terms *khaṇḍaḥ* and *muṇḍaḥ* are applied with reference to cows of peculiar description.

तथा च विग्रहः *Vigraha* too on that basis.

एवं च कृत्वा विग्रह उपपन्नो भवति गौश्च गौश्च इति

Only on this basis the *vigrahavākya gāuś ca gāuś ca* can be justified.

NOTE :— *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here :-*Ēkārthatvē paryāyāṇām iva sahaprayōgō na syāt.*

व्यर्थेषु च मुक्तसंशयम्

Need for reading *ēkaśēṣa* without any doubt for the sake of homonyms.

व्यर्थेषु च मुक्तसंशयं भवति । आकृतावपि पदार्थे एकशेषो वक्तव्यः - अक्षाः, पादाः, माषाः इति

There is need, without any doubt, for the *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣa ēkavibhaktāu* for the sake of homonyms *akṣāḥ, pādāḥ,* and *māṣāḥ* even when *ākṛti* is *padārtha*.

VII—ii (*b*)

लिङ्गवचनसिद्धिर्गुणस्यानित्यत्वात्

The appropriateness of gender and number on account of the *aniyatatva* of *guṇas.*

लिङ्गवचनानि सिद्धानि भवन्ति Genders and numbers do fit in.

कुतः ? How ?

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गुणस्य अनित्यत्वात् - अनित्या गुणा अपायिनश्च उपायिनश्च

On account of the *anityatva* of *guṇas*. *Guṇas* are *anitya*, since they disappear and appear.

NOTE:—*Guṇa* here refers to the state of being masculine, the state of being feminine, the state of being one, the state of being two and the state of being many.

किं य एते शुक्लादयः? Are not *śuklatva* etc. *guṇas*?

नेत्याह 'No,' says he.

स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकानि सत्त्वगुणाः, एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वानि च । कदाचिद् आकृतिरेकत्वेन युज्यते, कदाचिद् द्वित्वेन, कदाचिद् बहुत्वेन; कदाचित् स्त्रीत्वेन, कदाचित् पुंस्त्वेन, कदाचिन्नपुंसकत्वेन ।

The *dravyaguṇas* are *strītva*, *puṁstva*, *napuṁsakatva*, *ēkatva*, *dvitva* and *bahutva*. Sometimes *jāti* is associated with *ēkatva*, sometimes with *dvitva*, sometimes with *bahutva*, sometimes with *strītva*, sometimes with *puṁstva* and sometimes with *napuṁsakatva*.

भवेल्लिङ्गपरिहार उपपन्नः । वचनपरिहारस्तु नोपपद्यते; यदि हि कदाचिद् आकृतिरेकत्वेन युज्यते कदाचिद् द्वित्वेन, कदाचिद् बहुत्वेन, एका आकृतिरिति प्रतिज्ञा हीयेत; यच्चास्य पक्षस्योपादाने प्रयोजनमुक्तम् एकशेषो न वक्तव्यः इति स चेदानीं वक्तव्यो भवति ।

The reason adduced for the presence of *liṅga* may fit in. But the reason adduced for the presence of *vacana* cannot fit in; for, if it is said that sometimes *ākṛti* is associated with *ēkatva*, sometimes with *dvitva* and sometimes with *bahutva*, the *pratijñā* that *ākṛti* is one will fall to the ground; besides the one *prayōjana* that the *ēkaśēṣasūtra* need not be read by adopting this *pakṣa* cannot be achieved and the *sūtra* has now to be read.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Dvivacana-bahuvacanavad anēkaśabdatvam api prāpnōti iti ēkaśēṣōspi vaktavya ityarthaḥ.*

एवं तर्हि, If so,

लिङ्गवचनासिद्धिर्गुणविवक्षानित्यत्वात्

Siddhi of *liṅga* and *vacana* on account of the *anityatva* of *guṇavivakṣā*.

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लिङ्गवचनानि सिद्धानि भवन्ति Genders and numbers do fit in.

कुतः? How?

गुणविवक्षाया अनित्यत्वात् - अनित्या गुणविवक्षा; कदाचिद् आकृतिरेकत्वेन विवक्षिता भवति, कदाचिद् द्वित्वेन, कदाचिद् बहुत्वेन, कदाचित् स्त्रीत्वेन, कदाचित् पुंस्त्वेन, कदाचिन्नपुंसकत्वेन

On account of the *anityatva* of the desire to express *guṇas*. The desire to express *guṇas* is *anitya*; sometimes there is *vivakṣā* to associate *ākṛti* with *ēkatva*, sometimes with *dvitva*, sometimes with *bahutva*, sometimes with *strītva*, sometimes with *puṁstva* and sometimes with *napuṁsakatva*.

भवेल्लिङ्गपरिहार उपपन्नः वचनपरिहारस्तु नोपपद्यते; यदि कदाचिदाकृतिरेकत्वेन विवक्षिता भवति, कदाचिद् द्वित्वेन कदाचिद् बहुत्वेन, एका आकृतिरिति प्रतिज्ञा हीयेत, यच्चास्य पक्षस्योपादाने प्रयोजनमुक्तम् एकशेषो न वक्तव्य इति, स चेदानीं वक्तव्यो भवति।

The reason adduced for the presence of *liṅga* may fit in. But the reason adduced for the presence of *vacana* cannot fit in; for, if it is said that sometimes there is *vivakṣā* to associate *ākṛti* with *ēkatva*, sometimes with *dvitva* and sometimes with *bahutva*, the *pratijñā* that *ākṛti* is one will fall to the ground; besides the one *prayōjana* that the *ēkaśēṣasūtra* need not be read by adopting this *pakṣa* cannot be achieved and the *sūtra* has now to be read.

लिङ्गपरिहारश्चापि नोपपद्यते

The reason adduced for the presence of *liṅga* too may not fit in.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आविष्टलिङ्गा जातिर्यल्लिङ्गमुपादाय प्रवर्तते उत्पत्तिप्रभृति आविनाशात् तल्लिङ्गं न जहाति

Jāti invariably takes a particular *liṅga*; it does not leave off the *liṅga* in which it began to be used when it first became current and in which it will be used till it becomes obsolete.

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तस्मान्न वैयाकरणैः शक्यं लौकिकं लिङ्गमास्थातुन्, अवश्यं कश्चित् स्वकृतान्त आस्थेयः

Therefore it is not possible for grammarians to adopt the natural gender and hence they have to adopt their own.

कोऽसौ स्वकृतान्तः? What is their *siddhānta?*

संस्त्यानप्रसवौ लिङ्गम्

Both *saṁstyāna* and *prasava* form the gender.

संस्त्यानप्रसवौ लिङ्गमास्थेयौ

Saṁstyāna and *prasava* should be considered as gender.

किमिदं संस्त्यानप्रसवाविति ?

What is here meant by *saṁstyāna* and *prasava*?

संस्त्याने स्त्यायतेर्ड्रट् स्त्री सूतेः सप् प्रसवे पुमान्

The word *saṁstyāna* is formed by adding the *pratyaya ḍrat* to the root *styāi* and it means *strī* (feminine gender) and *prasava* is formed by adding the *pratyaya sap* to the root *sū* and it means *pumān* (masculine gender).

ननु च लोकेऽपि स्त्यायतेरेव स्त्री, सूतेश्च पुमान्

Oh, *strī* is so called even in the world because she allows (the embryo) to grow and *pumān* is so called because he produces.

अधिकरणसाधना लोके स्त्री, स्त्यायत्यस्यां गर्भ इति, कर्तृसाधनश्च पुमान् - सूते पुमान् इति । इह पुनरुभयं भावसाधनं, स्त्यानं प्रवृत्तिश्च

The word *strī* used in the world has its derivation *styāyati asyām garbhaḥ* (in whom the embryo solidifies), and she is the *adhikaraṇa* of the *styāyanakriyā* and the *pumān* is the agent of *savanakriyā* and *prasava* is derived thus–*prasūtē*. Here (in *Vyākaraṇa*), on the other hand, both are *bhāvasādhanas* (i.e.) *styāyatē iti strī* and *prasūtē iti prasavaḥ*, so that *strī* and *prasava* mean *styānam* (*apacayaḥ*) and *pravṛtti* (*vṛddhiḥ*).

कस्य पुनः स्त्यानं स्त्री, प्रवृत्तिर्वा पुमान्?

Whose *apacaya* is feminine gender and whose *vṛddhi* is masculine gender?

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गुणानाम् Of *guṇas*.

केषाम्? Of which *guṇas*?

शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धानाम्

Of *śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*.

सर्वाश्च पुनर्मूर्तय एवमात्मिकाः संस्त्यानप्रसवगुणाः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धवत्यः

All *padārthas* in the world have the qualities *śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha* gradually decreasing or increasing.

यत्राल्पीयांसो गुणास्तत्रावरतस्त्रयः शब्दः स्पर्शो रूपम् इति । रसगन्धौ न सर्वत्र । प्रवृत्तिः खल्वपि नित्या । न हीदं कश्चिदपि स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि मुहूर्तमवतिष्ठते, वर्द्धते यावद् अनेन वर्द्धितव्यम् अपचयेन वा युज्यते । तच्चोभयं सर्वत्र ।

Where the *guṇas* are smaller in number, there you have three–*śabdaḥ*, *sparśaḥ* and *rūpam*; *rasa* and *gandha* do not exist everywhere. *Pariṇāma* too exists for ever. Nothing here remains as it is even for a second; it grows so long it has to grow and then it begins to decay. These two are found everywhere.

NOTE:—Everything in this world is connected with one or many of the five elements:—*Ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *agni*, *āpaḥ* and *pṛthivī*. Of them *ākāśa* has the only *guṇa śabda*; *vāyu* the two *guṇas śabda* and *sparśa*; *agni* the three *guṇas śabda*, *sparśa* and *rūpa*; *āpaḥ* the four *guṇas śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa* and *rasa*; and *pṛthivī* the five *guṇas śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*.

यद्युभयं सर्वत्र कुतो व्यवस्था?

If both are found everywhere, whence is the decision to be made?

विवक्षातः From the desire of the speaker.

संस्त्यानविवक्षायां स्त्री, प्रसवविवक्षायां पुमान्, उभयोरप्यविवक्षायां नपुंसकम् ।

When there is the *vivakṣā* of *saṁstyāna*, it is feminine; when there is the *vivakṣā* of *prasava*, it is masculine; and when there is the absence of *vivakṣā* of both, it is neuter.

NOTE:—*Vārttikakāra* says under the *sūtra Striyām* (4, 1, 3) that the gender of words is to be decided from the usage in the world—*Tasyōktāu lōkatō nāma*.

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तत्र लिङ्गवचनसिद्धिर्गुणविवक्षानित्यत्वात् इति लिङ्गपरिहार उपपन्नः, वचनपरिहारस्तु नोपपद्यते ।

The reason *liṅga - vacana - siddhir - guṇa - vivakṣā - anityatvāt* adduced for the presence of *liṅga* may fit in; but that adduced for the presence of *vacana* does not fit in.

वचनपरिहारश्चाप्युपपन्नः

The reason adduced for the presence of *vacana* too may fit in.

इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्य :— अथ यस्य द्रव्यं पदार्थः कथं तस्य एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनानि भवन्ति इति ?

He is to be put this question:—How does he who holds the view that *dravya* is *padārtha* get *ēkavacana, dvivacana* and *bahuvacana*?

एवं स वक्ष्यति, एकस्मिन्नेकवचनं, द्वयोर्द्विवचनं, बहुषु बहुवचनम् इति

He will say—the singular number is used to denote one, the dual number to denote two and the plural number to denote many.

यदि तस्यापि वाचनिकानि न स्वाभाविकानि अहमप्येवं वक्ष्यामि, एकस्मिन्नेकवचनं द्वयोर्द्विवचनं बहुषु बहुवचनम् इति

If, even according to him, they have to be expressed and are not taken from nature, I shall also read the same thing:—*Ekasmin ēkavacanam, dvayōr dvivacanam, bahuṣu bahuvacanam.*

न हि आकृतिपदार्थकस्य द्रव्यं न पदार्थः, द्रव्यपदार्थकस्य वा आकृतिर्न पदार्थः । उभयोरुभयं पदार्थः । कस्य चित्तु किंचित् प्रधानभूतं किंचित् गुणभूतम् । आकृतिपदार्थकस्य आकृतिः प्रधानभूता, द्रव्यं गुणभूतम् । द्रव्यपदार्थकस्य द्रव्यं प्रधानभूतम् आकृतिर्गुणभूता ।

For he who holds that *ākṛti* is *padārtha* cannot but concede that *dravya* is *padārtha* and he who holds that *dravya* is *padārtha* cannot but concede that *ākṛti* is *padārtha*. Both are *padārthas* to both. One is primary to one and another is secondary. *Ākṛti* is primary and *dravyam* is secondary to the *ākṛti-padārtha-vādin*; but, on the other hand, *dravyam* is primary and *ākṛti* is secondary to the *dravya-padārtha-vādin*.

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गुणवचनवद्वा Or like words denoting qualities.

गुणवचनवद्वा लिङ्गवचनानि भविष्यन्ति । तद्यथा - गुणवचनानां शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति - शुक्लं वस्त्रं, शुक्ला शाटी, शुक्लः कम्बलः, शुक्लौ कम्बलौ, शुक्लाः कम्बला इति

Or *liṅga* and *vacana* will appear as in the words denoting qualities *Liṅga* and *vacana* in the words denoting qualities agree with those in the words which they qualify, as in *śuklam vastram*, *śuklā śāṭī*, *śuklaḥ kambalaḥ*, *śuklāu kambalāu* and *śuklāḥ kambalāḥ*.

यदसौ द्रव्यं श्रितो भवति गुणः तस्य यल्लिङ्गं वचनं च तद्गुणस्यापि भवति, एवमिहापि यदसौ द्रव्यं श्रिता आकृतिः तस्य यल्लिङ्गं वचनं च तदाकृतेरपि भविष्यति ।

Just as *guṇa-vācaka-śabda* agrees in gender and number with the *guṇi-vācaka-śabda*, so also the *ākṛti-vācaka-śabda* agrees in gender and number with the *vyakti-vācaka-śabda*.

अधिकरणगतिः साहचर्यात्

The procedure with reference to the substratum is through association.

आकृतौ आरम्भणादीनां सम्भवो नास्तीति कृत्वा आकृतिसहचरिते द्रव्ये आरम्भणादीनि भविष्यन्ति

Since the acts of *ārambhaṇa* etc. are not possible in *ākṛti*, they are done in the *dravyas* which are associated with the *ākṛti*.

NOTE:—This is the answer to the *vārttika Cōdanāsu ca tasyārambhāt* in VII—i (b).

न चैकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपदिति, आदित्यवद्विषयः

The objection *Na ca ēkam ānēkādhikaraṇastham yugapat*—in VII—i (b)—cannot stand on the analogy of *āditya*.

न खल्वप्येकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपदुपलभ्यत इति आदित्यवद् विषयो भविष्यति। तद्यथा एक आदित्यो अनेकाधिकरणस्थो युगपदुपलभ्यते

The objection '*Na khalvapi ēkam anēkādhikaraṇastham yugapad upalabhyatē*,' cannot stand, if the object is taken analogous to *āditya*. Sun, who is one, is seen simultaneously at different places.

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विषम उपन्यासः। नैको द्रष्टा अनेकाधिकरणस्थमादित्यं युगपदुपलभते

The argument is not sound, since one cannot see the sun in different places at the same time.

एवं तर्हि, If so,

इतीन्द्रवद्विषयः The object is analogous to *Indra - śabda.*

तद्यथा एक इन्द्रो अनेकस्मिन् क्रतुशते आहूतो युगपत् सर्वत्र भवति, एवमाकृतिर्युगपत्सर्वत्र भवेदिति

Just as the word *Indra* pronounced at the same time in hundreds of sacrifices becomes *aṅga* to each, so also *ākṛti* is found everywhere simultaneously.

अविनाशोऽनाश्रितत्वात्

Non-disappearance on account of *anāśritatva*.

द्रव्यविनाशे आकृतेरविनाशः

Non-disappearance of *ākṛti* at the destruction of *dravya.*

कुतः? How?

अनाश्रितत्वात् – अनाश्रिता आकृतिर्द्रव्यम्

On account of *ākṛti* not having *dravya* for its *āśraya. Ākṛti* does not have *dravya* for its *āśraya.*

किमुच्यते अनाश्रितत्वादिति, यदिदानीमेवोक्तम् अधिकरणगतिः साहचर्यादिति

Just now it has been said '*Adhikaraṇagatiḥ sāhacaryāt.*' When such is the case, how is it said *anāśritatvāt?*

एवं तर्हि If so,

अविनाशोऽनैकात्म्यात्

Non-disappearance on account of *bhinna-svabhāvatva?*

द्रव्यविनाशे आकृतेरविनाशः

Ākṛti does not disappear when *dravya* is destroyed.

कुतः? How?

अनैकात्म्यात् -अनेक आत्मा आकृतेर्द्रव्यस्य च। तद्यथा वृक्षस्थोऽवतानो वृक्षे छिन्नेऽपि न विनश्यति

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On account of difference in nature. The nature of *ākṛti* is not one with that of *dravya*. This may be illustrated thus :— The mould of a tree is not destroyed even though the tree is cut.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says here :-*Nityam ēkam anēka-vyakti-vṛtti sāmānyam, tad-viparītam dravyam iti bhēdaḥ.*

वैरूप्यविग्रहौ द्रव्यभेदात्

Vāirūpya and *vigraha* on account of difference in *dravya.*

वैरूप्यविग्रहावपि द्रव्यभेदाद् भविष्यतः

Vāirūpya and *vigraha* (mentioned in VII—i (*b*) happen on account of difference in *dravya.*

व्यर्थेषु च सामान्यात् सिद्धम्

It is achieved with reference to homonyms on account of their being derived from roots which have the same form.

विभिन्नार्थेषु च सामान्यात् सिद्धम्; सर्वत्र अश्नोतेः अक्षः, पचतेः पादः, मिमीतेः माषः। तत्र क्रियासामान्यात् सिद्धम्

The object is achieved through *sāmānya* in homonyms :-*Akṣa* (everywhere) is derived from *aś*, *pāda* from *pad* and *māṣa* from *mīṅ.*

अपरस्त्वाह – पुरा कल्प एतदासीत् षोडश माषाः कार्षापणं, षोडशफलाश्च माषशम्बत्यः। तत्र संख्यासामान्यात् सिद्धम्

But another says :-In olden days sixteen *māṣas* made one *kārṣāpaṇa* and sixteen *phalas* made one *māṣaśambaṭya*. The object is achieved through similarity in *saṅkhyā.*

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः (1, 2, 65)

इह कस्मान्न भवति – अजश्च बर्करश्च, अश्वश्च किशोरश्च, उष्ट्रश्च करभश्चेति?

How is it that *ēkaśēṣa* does not take place in the following pairs :—*ajaś ca barkaraś ca, aśvaś ca kiśōraś ca* and *uṣṭraś ca karabhaś ca* ?

NOTE :—1. *Aja, aśva* and *uṣṭra* respectively denote old goat, old horse and old camel and *barkara, kiśōra* and *karabha* denote the young of the same.

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NOTE :—2. The *pūrvapakṣa* arises on taking *vṛddha* and *yuvan* in the sense of *old one* and *young one*. But *vṛddha* is *prācīnasaṁjñā* identical with *Pāṇini's gōtra*. *Gōtra* is explained in the *sūtra* *Apatyam pāutraprabhṛti gōtram* (4, 1, 162) and *yuvā* in the *sūtra* *Jīvati tu vaṁśyē yuvā* (4, 1, 163.)

तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष इत्युच्यते ; न चात्र तल्लक्षण एव विशेषः

It is said (in the *sūtra*) *tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ*; and *tallakṣaṇaviśēṣaḥ* is not found here.

तल्लक्षण एव विशेषो यत् समानायामाकृतौ शब्दभेदः

The expression *tallakṣaṇa ēva viśēṣaḥ* means difference in the form of words derived from the same stem.

NOTE :—1. The stem should be the word denoting the person whose *pāutra* (grandson), *prapāutra* (great grandson) etc. are referred to by the words ending in *gōtrapratyaya* and *yuvapratyaya*.

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* says under (1, 2, 68) that *samānākṛti* means *ēkāpatyatva*.

स्त्री पुंवच्च (1, 2, 66)

इदं सर्वेष्वेव स्त्रीग्रहणेषु विचार्यते – स्त्रीग्रहणेषु स्त्रीप्रत्ययग्रहणं वा स्यात् स्त्र्यर्थग्रहणं वा स्त्रीशब्दग्रहणं वा इति

This is discussed wherever there is mention of *strī* :-whether *strīpratyaya* is taken into consideration, the meaning of *strī* or the word *strī*.

किं चातः ? What is the difference among them?

यदि प्रत्ययग्रहणं वा शब्दग्रहणं वा, गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणौ च गर्गाः, केन यशब्दो न श्रूयेत ? अस्त्रियाम् इति हि लुगुच्यते ।

If we take that it refers to *strīpratyaya* or the word *strī*, by which authority can *ya* be elided so that we can arrive at the form *gargāḥ* which is the *ēkaśēṣa* of *Gārgī ca Gārgayaṇāu ca*? For, the elision (of *ya*) is not enjoined with reference to the *strī* in the *sūtra* *Yañañōś ca* (2, 4, 64.)

इह च गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणौ च गर्गान् पश्य, तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि इति नत्वं न प्राप्नोति

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Natva has no chance to appear by the operation of the *sūtra Tasmāc chasō naḥ puṁsi* (6, 1, 103) in the word *gargān* referring to *Gārgī* and *gārgyāyaṇāu* in the sentence *Gargān paśya.*

अथ अर्थग्रहणम्, न दोषो भवति

There is no defect if the meaning of *strī* is taken into consideration.

यथा न दोषस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in the way in which there is no defect.

इह कस्मान्न भवति–अजा च बर्करश्च, वडवा च किशोरश्च, उष्ट्री च करभश्च इति

Why is there no *ēkaśēṣa* in the following pairs :- *ajā ca barkaraś ca, vaḍavā ca kiśōraś ca* and *uṣṭrī ca karabhaś ca?*

तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष इत्युच्यते। न चात्र तल्लक्षण एव विशेषः। तल्लक्षण एव विशेषो यत्समानायामाकृतौ शब्दभेदः

It is said (in the *sūtra*) *tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ*; and *tallakṣaṇa-viśēṣa* is not found here. The expression *tallakṣaṇa ēva viśēṣaḥ* means difference in the form of words derived from the same stem.

पुमान् स्त्रिया (1, 2, 69)

इह कस्मान्न भवति – हंसश्च वरटा च, कच्छपश्च दुलिश्च, ऋश्यश्च रोहिच्च इति?

Why is not *ēkaśēṣa* found here :–*haṁsaś ca varaṭā ca, kacchapaś ca duliś ca and Ṛśyaś ca rōhic ca?*

तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः इत्युच्यते, न चात्र तल्लण एव विशेषः। तल्लक्षण एव विशेषः यत्समानायामाकृतौ शब्दभेदः

For translation see the end of the previous *sūtra*.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् (1, 2, 68)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते? न पुमान् स्त्रिया इत्येव सिद्धम्?

Why is this *sūtra* read? Is not its purpose served by the *sūtra Pumān striyā?*

न सिध्यति। तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष इत्युच्यते, न चात्र तल्लक्षण एव विशेषः। तल्लक्षण एव विशेषो यत्समानायामाकृतौ शब्दभेदः

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No, it is not served. It was mentioned there *tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ* and it is not found here. *Tallakṣaṇa ēva viśēṣō yat samānāyām ākṛtāu śabdabhēdaḥ.*

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदिमं योगं शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो यत्रोर्ध्वं प्रकृतेः स्यात्तल्लण एव विशेषः तत्र एकशेषो भवति इति

Since *Ācārya* reads this *sūtra* when its purpose can be otherwise achieved, he suggests that there is *ēkaśēṣa*, in general, only when the stem in both the words is the same and the difference lies only in the *pratyayas.*

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit reaped from this *jñāpana*?

हंसश्च वरटा च, कच्छपश्च दुलिश्च, ऋश्यश्च रोहिच्चेति अत्रैकशेषो न भवति

There will be no *ēkaśēṣa* here:—*haṁsaś ca varaṭā ca, kacchapaś ca duliś ca* and *ṛśyaś ca rōhic ca.*

NOTE:—*Ṛśya* means an white-footed antelope.

पूर्वयोर्योगयोर्भूयान्परिहारः यावद् ब्रूयाद्गोत्रं यूनेति तावत् वृद्धो यूनेति, पूर्वसूत्रे गोत्रस्य वृद्धम् इति संज्ञा क्रियते ।

The mention of *Vṛddhō yūnā* gives as much *parihāra* to the previous two *sūtras* as that of *Gōtram yūnā*, since *vṛddham* is the *saṁjñā* read in earlier *Vyākaraṇasūtra* in place of *gōtram.*

असरूपाणां युवस्थविरस्त्रीपुंसानां विशेषस्याविवक्षितत्वात् सामान्यस्य च विवक्षितत्वात् सिद्धम्

The object is achieved through the *avivakṣā* of the *viśēṣa* of the *pratyayas* dealing with *yuvan, sthavira, strī* and *pumān* which are dissimilar in form and the *vivakṣā* of the *sāmānya* (i.e.) the *prakṛti.*

असरूपाणां युवस्थविरस्त्रीपुंसानां विशेषश्चाविवक्षितः, सामान्यं च विवक्षितम् । विशेषस्याविवक्षितत्वात् सामान्यस्य च विवक्षितत्वात् सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ इत्येव सिद्धम्

There is no *vivakṣā* of the *viśēṣa* of the *pratyayas* dealing with *yuvan, sthavira, strī* and *pumān* and there is *vivakṣā* for the *sāmānya.* Since there is no *vivakṣā* for the *viśēṣa* and there

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is *vivakṣā* for the *sāmānya*, the object is achieved by the *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣa ēkavibhaktāu* (and hence the *sūtras Vṛddhō yūnā*..., *Strī puṁvacca* and *Pumān striyā* need not be read).

NOTE :—Since *sarūpa* refers to similarity and not identity, the *Vārttikakāra* seems to set at naught the three *sūtras*.

पुमान् स्त्रिया - इह कस्मान्न भवति ब्राह्मगवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च इति ?

Why is not *ēkaśēṣa* found with reference to *brāhmaṇa-vatsā* and *brāhmaṇī-vatsa* by the *sūtra Pumān striyā* ?

ब्राह्मणवत्साब्राह्मणीवत्सयोर्लिङ्गस्याविभक्तिपरस्य विशेषवाचकत्वादनेकशेषः

Absence of *ēkaśēṣa* in *brāhmaṇa-vatsā* and *brāhmaṇī-vatsa* on account of the *liṅga* not being followed by the *vibhakti* being the *viśēṣavācaka*.

ब्राह्मगवत्साब्राह्मणिवत्सयोर्लिङ्गस्य अविभक्तिपरस्य विशेषवाचकत्वाद् एकशेषो न भविष्यति । यत्र लिङ्गं विभक्तिपरमेव विशेषवाचकं तत्रैकशेषो भवति । नात्र लिङ्गं विभक्तिपरमेव विशेषवाचकम् ।

There is no *ēkaśēṣa* in *brāhmaṇa-vatsā* and *brāhmaṇī-vatsa*, since the *liṅga* which is *viśēṣavācaka* is not followed by *vibhakti*. *Ēkaśēṣa* sets only in those places where the *liṅga* which is *viśēṣa-vācaka* is followed by *vibhakti*. The *liṅga* which is *viśēṣa-vācaka* here is not followed by *vibhakti*.

यदि तर्हि यत्र लिङ्गं विभक्तिपरमेव विशेषवाचकं तत्रैकशेषो भवति, इह न प्राप्नोति कारकश्च कारिका च कारिकौ । न ह्यत्र लिङ्गं विभक्तिपरमेव विशेषवाचकम्

If it is said that there is *ēkaśēṣa* only when the *liṅga* which is *viśēṣa-vācaka* preceeds *vibhakti*, there is no chance for *kārakaś ca kārikā ca* to become *kārakāu* ; for here the *liṅga* which is *viśēṣa-vācaka* is not followed by *vibhakti*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

इत्त्वमपि *Ikāra* too.

कथं पुनरिदं ज्ञायते शब्दो या स्त्री तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष इति, आहोस्विद् अर्थो या स्त्री तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष इति ?

How is it understood here whether the *viśēṣa* is due to the *strī-vācaka-śabda* or whether the *viśēṣa* is due to *stryartha* ?

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किं चातः ? What is gained by either ?

यदि विज्ञायते शब्दो या स्त्री तल्ल णश्चेदेव विशेषः इति सिद्धं कारकश्च कारिका च कारकौ, इदं तु न सिध्यति - गोमांश्च गोमती च गोमन्तौ । अथ विज्ञायते अर्थो या स्त्री तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः इति, सिद्धं - गोमांश्च गोमती च गोमन्तौ, इदं तु न सिध्यति - कारकश्च कारिका च कारकौ । उभयथापि पटुश्च पट्वी च पटू इत्येतन्न सिध्यति ।

If it is admitted *śabdō yā strī tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ, kārakaś ca kārikā ca* becomes *kārikāu* and *gōmāṁś ca gōmatī ca* cannot become *gōmantāu*. If, on the other hand, it is admitted *arthō yā strī tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ, gōmāṁś ca gōmatī ca* becomes *gōmantāu* and *kārakaś ca kārikā ca* cannot become *kārikāu*. On admitting even both, *paṭuś ca paṭvī ca* cannot become *paṭū*.

एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते - शब्दो या स्त्री तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः इति, नाप्यर्थो या स्त्री तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः इति

If so, it is not taken either *śabdō yā strī tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ* or *arthō yā strī tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ*.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

शब्दार्थौ या स्त्री तद्भावेन च तल्लक्षणो विशेष आश्रीयते

It is taken thus :—*śabdō yā strī, arthō yā strī, tadbhāvabhāvitvēna yā strī, tallakṣaṇaś cēd ēva viśēṣaḥ.*

एवं च कृत्वा इहापि प्राप्तिः - ब्राह्मणवत्सा च ब्राह्मणीवत्सश्च इति

If it is so interpreted, there is chance for *ēkaśēṣa* in *brāhmaṇavatsā ca brāhmaṇīvatsaś ca.*

एवं तर्हीदमिह व्यपदेश्यम्, सदाचार्यो न व्यपदिशति

If so, this should have been mentioned here; and the great *Ācārya* has not mentioned it.

किम् ? Why ?

तद् इत्यनुवर्तते There is *anuvṛtti* for the word *tad.*

तदित्यनेन प्रकृतौ स्त्रीपुंसौ प्रतिनिर्दिश्येते

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By the word *tad*, the *strī* and the *pumān* which are referred to in the context are taken into account.

कौ च प्रकृतौ? What are those referred to in the context?

प्रधाने । प्रधानं या शब्दस्त्री, प्रधानं या अर्थस्त्री इति

Those which are *pradhāna*, the *śabdastrī* which is *pradhāna* and the *arthastrī* which is *pradhāna*.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् (1, 2, 69)

अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् This *sūtra* need not be read.

कथं शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं ते इमे शुक्ले; शुक्लश्च कम्बलः शुक्ला च बृहतिका शुक्लं च वस्त्रं तदिदं शुक्लं, तानीमानि शुक्लानि?

What will be the authority to sanction the usage *idam śuklam* and *imē śuklē* with reference to *śukla-kambala* and *śukla-vastra* and the usage *idam śuklam* and *imāni śuklāni* with reference to *śukla-kambala*, *śukla-bṛhatikā* and *śukla-vastra*.

प्रधाने कार्यसम्प्रत्ययाच्छेषः

Pradhāna is left behind, since the *kārya-sampratyaya* is in its presence.

प्रधाने कार्यसम्प्रत्ययात् शेषो भविष्यति

Since the knowledge of the denotation of *artha* takes place only in the presence of the *pradhāna*, it alone is left behind.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Śabdēna arthasya abhidhānam iha kāryam*.

किं च प्रधानम्? Which is *pradhāna*?

नपुंसकम् - Neuter gender.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते नपुंसकं प्रधानमिति?

How is it known that neuter gender is *pradhāna*?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके - अनिर्ज्ञातेऽर्थे गुणसन्देहे च नपुंसकलिङ्गं प्रयुज्यते - किं जातम्? इत्युच्यते । द्वयं चैव हि जायते - स्त्री वा, पुमान् वा । तथा विदूरेऽव्यक्तरूपं दृष्ट्वा वक्तारो भवन्ति महिषीरूपमिव, ब्राह्मणीरूपमिव ।

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It is so seen in the world—It is said '*Kiṁ jātam*' (which is born)? when the object is not clearly determined and when there is doubt about its qualities. That turns out both-ways—a female or a male. Similarly people, seeing indistinctly an object very far from them, use the expressions *mahiṣī-rūpam-iva, brāhmaṇīrūpam-iva.*

प्रधाने कार्यसम्प्रत्ययान्नपुंसकस्य शेषो भविष्यति

Since there is the *sampratyaya* of *kārya* in the presence of the *pradhāna, napuṁsaka* is left behind.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - एकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् इति वक्ष्यामि इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that I shall state that singular is optionally used.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् This too is not the *prayōjana.*

आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनम्

Singular number on account of the denotation of *jāti.*

आकृतिवाचित्वादेकवचनं भविष्यति

Singular number will be used since *jāti* is denoted.

यदा द्रव्याभिधानं तदा द्विवचनबहुवचने भविष्यतः

When there is denotation for *dravya,* dual and plural numbers will be used.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् (1, 2, 68)

पिता, मात्रा (1, 2, 70) **श्वशुरः, श्वश्र्वा** (1, 2, 71)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते, न पुमान् स्त्रिया इत्येव सिद्धम्?

Why is this read? Is not its purpose served by the *sūtra Pumān striyā* itself?

भ्रातृपुत्रपितृश्वशुराणां कारणाद्द्रव्ये शब्दनिवेशः

Mention of words to denote objects on account of *bhrātṛ, putra, pitṛ* and *śvaśura* having *bhinna-pravṛttinimittas.*

भ्रातृपुत्रपितृश्वशुराणां कारणाद्द्रव्ये शब्दनिवेशो भवति

Mention of words to denote objects is made since the words *bhrātṛ, putra, pitṛ* and *śvaśura* have *pravṛttinimittas* different (from those of *svasṛ, duhitṛ, mātṛ* and *śvaśrū*).

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NOTE:—It is difficult to understand how the *pravṛtti-nimittas* of *śvaśura* and *śvaśrū* are different.

भ्रातृपुत्रपितृश्वशुराणां कारणाद्द्रव्ये शब्दनिवेश इति चेत् तुल्यकारणत्वात् सिद्धम्

If the words *bhrātā*, *putra*, *pitā* and *śvaśura* have certain *pravṛttinimittas* in denoting their meaning, the same holds good to *svasā* etc. and hence *ēkaśēṣa* is achieved.

यदि तावद् बिभर्तीति भ्राता, स्वसर्यप्येतद् भवति । तथा यदि पुनाति इति प्रीणाति इति वा पुत्रः, दुहितर्यप्येतद् भवति । तथा यदि पाति पालयतीति वा पिता, मातर्यप्येतद् भवति । तथा यदि आशु आसव्यः श्वशुरः, श्वश्वामप्येतद् भवति ।

If the *pravṛttinimitta* in *bhrātā* is *bharaṇa*, the same is found in *svasā* too; if it is *purification* or source of pleasure in *putra*, the same is found in *duhitā* too; if it is *rakṣaṇa* in *pitā*, the same is found in *mātā* too; if it is *easy accessibility* in *śvaśura*, the same is found in *śvaśrū* too.

दर्शनं वै हेतुः Usage alone is the determining factor.

न हि स्वसरि भ्रातृशब्दो दृश्यते

The word *bhrātā* is not used to denote sister.

दर्शनं हेतुरिति चेत्तुल्यम्

If usage is the determining factor, let one be used in place of another, the *pravṛttinimitta* being the same.

दर्शनं हेतुरिति चेत् तुल्यमेतद् भवति । स्वसर्यपि भ्रातृशब्दो दृश्यताम् । तुल्यं हि कारणम्

If usage is the determining factor, the same may be used to denote the other. Let the word *bhrātā* be used to denote sister too; for the *pravṛttinimitta* is the same.

NOTE:—Since the words *bhrātā* and *svasā*, *putraḥ* and *duhitā*, *pitā* and *mātā* are derived from separate roots having different meanings, how can the pairs be said to have the same *pravṛttinimitta*?

न वै एष लोके सम्प्रत्ययः It is not so taken by the world.

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न हि लोके भ्राता आनीयताम् इत्युक्ते स्वसा आनीयते

Sister is not fetched in the world on hearing the sentence *bhrātā ānīyatām* (let *bhrātā* be fetched).

तद्विषयं च It should also be within its range.

तद्विषयं चैतद् द्रष्टव्यं भवति - स्वसरि भ्रातृत्वम्

That too has to be considered within its range—*bhrātṛtva* in *svasā*.

किंविषयम्? Whose range?

एकशेषविषयम् Within the range of *ēkaśēṣa*.

युक्तं पुनर्यन्नियतविषया नाम शब्दाः स्युः?

Will it not be proper to hold that words have restricted application?

बाढं युक्तम् Certainly, it is but proper.

अन्यत्रापि तद्विषयदर्शनात्

Since restricted application is seen elsewhere too.

अन्यत्रापि नियतविषयाः शब्दा दृश्यन्ते । तद्यथा, समाने रक्ते वर्णे, गौर्लोहित इति भवति, अश्वः शोण इति; समाने च काले वर्णे, गौः कृष्ण इति भवति, अश्वो हेम इति; समाने च शुक्ले वर्णे, गौः श्वेत इति भवति, अश्वः कर्क इति ।

Words are seen, elsewhere too, restricted in their application. This may be illustrated thus:—Though the red colour is the same, the word *lōhita* is used with reference to the red cow and the word *śōṇa* is used with reference to the red horse; though the black colour is the same, the word *kṛṣṇa* is used with reference to the black cow and the word *hēma* with reference to the black horse; and though the white colour remains the same, the word *śvēta* is used with reference to the white cow and the word *karka* with reference to the white horse.

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् (1, 2, 72)

त्यदादितः शेषे पुन्नपुंसकतो लिङ्गवचनानि

The *liṅga* and *vacana* with reference to the masculine and neuter genders of the pronouns *tyadādi* to be decided from the last.

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त्यदादितः शेषे पुंनपुंसकतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् - सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ, सा च कुण्डे च तानि

It should be said that *liṅga* and *vacana* with reference to masculine and neuter genders of the pronouns should be decided from the last among those to which they refer, so that *sā ca Dēvadattaś ca* may become *tāu* and *sā ca kuṇḍē ca* may become *tāni*.

अद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषविशेषणानाम्

Of those which are not *viśēṣaṇas* to *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds.

अद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत्, स च कुक्कुटः, सा च मयूरी, कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ ते; अर्धं पिप्पल्याः तत्, अर्धपिप्पली च सा - अर्धपिप्पल्यौ ते

It must be said that it does not apply to the pronouns which are *viśēṣaṇas* to *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds, so that the above *vārttika* may not operate in the expression *kukkuṭamayūryāu tē* which is formed from *sa ca kukkuṭaḥ* and *sā ca mayūrī* and in the expression *ardhapippalyāu tē* which is formed from *ardham pippalyāḥ tat* and *ardhapippalī ca sā*.

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् This *sūtra*, too, may not be read.

कथम् ? Why ?

त्यदादीनां सामान्यार्थात् Since pronouns have *sāmānyārtha*.

त्यदादीनां सामान्यमर्थः । आतश्च सामान्यं, देवदत्तेऽपि हि स इत्येतद् भवति यज्ञदत्तेऽपि । त्यदादीनां सामान्यार्थत्वात् शेषो भविष्यति ।

Pronouns give general sense. Since they give general sense, the word *saḥ* is used to denote *Dēvadatta* or *Yajñadatta*. The *śēṣatva* operates on account of pronouns having *sāmānyārtha*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - परस्य शेषं वक्ष्यामि इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that there is *śēṣa* to the *para*.

परस्य चोभयवाचित्वात् On account of *para* denoting both.

उभयवाचि परम् The word *para* denotes both.

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NOTE:—Since it will be said *iṣṭavācī paraśabdaḥ* under the *sūtra Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam* (1, 4, 2), *para* may denote both that follows and that precedes.

पूर्वशेपदर्शनाच्च On account of *pūrvasēṣa* being found.

पूर्वस्य खल्वपि शेषो दृश्यते - स च यश्च तौ आनय, यौ आनय इति ।

The case-form of the pronoun that precedes also is found along with that which succeeds. Both *tāu* and *yāu* are used in place of *sa ca* and *yaś ca* in the sentences *tāu ānaya* and *yāu ānaya*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - द्वन्द्वो मा भूद् इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that *dvandva* may not set in.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् This too is not the *prayōjana*.

सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वाभावात्सिद्धम्

It is accomplished since there is no *dvandva* between *sāmānya-vācaka-śabda* and *viśēṣa-vācaka-śabda*.

सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वो न भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ।

It must be said that there is no *dvandva* between words denoting *sāmānya* and those denoting *viśēṣa*.

यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते, शूद्राभीरम्, गोबलीवर्दम्, तृणोलपम् इति न सिध्यति ।

If it is said that there is no *dvandva* between *sāmānyavācakas* and *visēṣavācakas*, the forms *śūdrābhīram*, *gōbalīvardam* and *tṛṇōlapam* cannot be secured.

नैष दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरम् इति, आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि ; गोबली-वर्दम् इति, गाव उत्कालितपुंस्का वाहाय च विक्रयाय च स्त्रिय एवावशिष्यन्ते ; तृणोलपम् इति अपाम् उलपमिति नामधेयम् ।

This difficulty does not arise. Firstly with respect to *śūdrābhīram*, *ābhīras* form a caste different from *śūdras* ; with respect to *gōbalīvardam*, the *gōs*, being castrated for bearing burden or for sale, are practically feminine ; as regards *tṛṇōlapam*, *ulapa* means water.

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NOTE :-*Abhira* is, according to *Smṛtis*, he who is born of a brahman father and a mother born of a kṣatriya father and śūdra mother.

तत् तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । It, then, has to be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यम् । सामान्येनोक्तत्वाद्विशेषस्य प्रयोगो न भविष्यति । सामान्येनोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य - विशेषस्य - प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम् ।
No, it need not be said. The use of the *viśēṣa* does not arise on account of the use of *sāmānya*. Since the *viśēṣa* is denoted by *sāmānya*, there chances no *prayōga* for the former.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति
On account of the dictum *Uktārthānām aprayōgaḥ*.

न तर्हि इदानीमिदं भवति - तं ब्राह्मणमानय गार्ग्यमिति ।
If so, there is no chance for the use of the sentence *Tam brāhmaṇam ānaya Gārgyam* (Bring that *brāhmaṇa Gārgya*).

भवति, यदा नियोगतस्तस्यानयनं भवति
Yes, there is chance, if the purpose of the *vidhi* is that he should be brought.

एवं तर्हि येनैव खल्वपि हेतुना एतद्वाक्यं भवति तं ब्राह्मणमानय गार्ग्यम् इति तेनैव हेतुना वृत्तिरपि प्राप्नोति । तस्मात् सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम्
If so, that which leads to the possibility of the sentence *Tam brāhmaṇam ānaya Gārgyam*, leads to the possibility of *lakṣaṇā*. Hence, it must be enjoined that there is no *dvandva* between *sāmānyavācaka* and *viśēṣavācaka*.

ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री (1, 2, 73)

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् This *sūtra* too need not be read.

कथं गाव इमाश्चरन्ति, अजा इमाश्चरन्ति ?
(If so) how is it possible to use the feminine *imāḥ* in the sentences *Gāvaḥ imāś caranti* and *Ajā imāś caranti*?

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गाव उत्कालितपुंस्का वाहाय च विक्रयाय च । स्त्रिय एव अवशिष्यन्ते

Gāvaḥ are only the bulls which have been castrated so that they may carry burden and they may be sold and (they that move in *saṅgha*) are almost feminine.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - ग्राम्येष्विति वक्ष्यामि इति । इह मा भूत न्यङ्कव इमे सूकरा इमे इति

This, the mention of *grāmyēṣu* is then the *prayōjana* so that the feminine gender may not be used in the expressions *Nyaṅkava imē* and *sūkarā imē.*

कः पुनरर्हति अग्राम्याणां पुंस उत्कालयितुं ये ग्रहीतुमशक्याः ? कुत एव वाहाय च विक्रयाय च ?

Who can castrate the male of the wild animals which cannot be caught ? How then is it possible to use them to carry burden or to be sold ?

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् पशुष्विति वक्ष्यामि इति - इह मा भूत् ब्राह्मणा इमे वृषला इमे

This, the mention of *paśuṣu,* is then the *prayōjana* so that the feminine gender may not be used in the expressions *brāhmaṇā imē* and *vṛṣalā imē.*

कः पुनरर्हत्यपशूनां पुंस उत्कालयितुं ये अशक्या वाहाय च विक्रयाय च ?

Who will castrate the male of those who are not *paśus* since they cannot be used either to carry burden or to be sold ?

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् सङ्घेष्विति वक्ष्यामि इति । इह मा भूद् एतौ गावौ चरतः

This, the mention of *saṅghēṣu,* is then the *prayōjana* so that the feminine gender may not be used in the expression *Etāu gāvāu carataḥ.*

कः पुनरर्हति निर्ज्ञातेऽर्थे अन्यथा प्रयोक्तुम् ?

Who will use the feminine gender incorrectly when he definitely knows that the objects referred to are male.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - अतरुणेषु इति वक्ष्यामि इति । इह मा भूद् उरुणका इमे बर्करा इमे इति

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This, the mention of *ataruṇēṣu*, is then the *prayōjana*—so that the feminine gender may not be used in *uruṇakā imē* and *barkarā imē*.

कः पुनरर्हति तरुणानां पुंस उत्कालयितुं ये अशक्या वाहाय च विक्रयाय च ?

Who will castrate the male of young ones which are unfit either to carry burden or to be sold?

अनेकशफेषु With reference to those having cloven hoof.

अनेकशफेष्विति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूद् अश्वाश्चरन्ति गर्दभाश्चरन्ति

Mention of *anēkaśaphēṣu* is necessary, so that the feminine gender may not be used in the expressions *Aśvāś caranti* and *gardabhāś caranti*.

Twelfth Āhnika Ends

First *adhyāya* second *pāda* ends.

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Thirteenth Āhnika

(*First adhyāya, third pāda, first āhnika*)

भूवादयो धातवः (1, 3, 1)

There are *three* topics in the *sūtra*:—(1) Why is *va* found in the *sūtra*? (2) What is the purpose of the mention of the word *ādi* in the *sūtra*? (3) Is it necessary to have *samāna-śabdapratiṣēdha* and *parimāṇagrahaṇa*, if those that are read in *Dhātupāṭha* are taken as *dhātus*?

I

कुतोऽयं वकारः? यदि तावत् संहितया निर्देशः क्रियते, भ्वादय इति भवितव्यम्। अथ असंहितया भू - आदय इति भवितव्यम्।

Wherefrom is this *vakāra*? If *bhū* and *ādayaḥ* are read together, the *sūtra* should have been read *bhvādayaḥ* and if they are read leaving some time between them, it should have been read *bhū-ādayaḥ*.

अत उत्तरं पठति He reads the answer thus.

भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते

This *vakāra* in *bhūvādi* is read to suggest *maṅgala*.

NOTE:—This is noted in Guruprasāda Śāstri's edition to be a half of a *ślōkavārttika*. The author of this *vārttika* takes *va* as the *āgama*; but *Kātyāyana* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* hold that the root *vā* is mentioned here.

माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वकारम् आगमं प्रयुङ्क्ते। मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषाणि च भवन्ति, आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि चाध्येतारश्च मङ्गलयुक्ता यथा स्युरिति

Ācārya, eager of *maṅgala*, reads the *vakāra* as *āgama* to serve as *maṅgala* for his great work; for only such works as have *maṅgala* at the commencement, at the middle and at the end thrive well, making the readers strong and long-lived and enabling them to meet with auspicious events in their life-time.

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II

अथ आदिग्रहणं किमर्थम्? यदि तावत् पठ्यन्ते नार्थ आदिग्रहणेन। अन्यत्रापि ह्ययं पठन्नादिग्रहणं न करोति।

What for is the reading of *ādi*? If they (roots) are read in *sūtras*, no purpose is served by it. He does not read *ādi* elsewhere where he reads the *dhātus*.

कान्यत्र? Which is referred to by *anyatra*?

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा इति

The *sūtra* *Mṛḍa-mṛda-gudha-kuṣa-kliśa-vada-vasaḥ ktvā*.

अथ न पठ्यन्ते नतरामर्थ आदिग्रहणेन। न ह्यपठिताः शक्या आदिग्रहणेन विशेषयितुम्

If they are not read in *sūtras*, much more is no purpose served by the reading of *ādi*; for those that are not read cannot be specified by *ādi*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदादिग्रहणं करोति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽस्ति च पाठो बाह्यश्च सूत्रादिति

Since *Ācārya* has read *ādi* in spite of achieving his object in the manner described above, he suggests that there is a *Dhātupāṭha* outside *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्?

What is the *prayōjana* of this *jñāpana*?

पाठेन धातुसंज्ञा इत्येतदुपपन्नं भवति

The statement that only those which are read in the *Dhātupāṭha* are *dhātus* is justified.

III

पाठेन धातुसंज्ञायां समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः

If those that are read in the *Dhātupāṭha* are given *dhātusaṁjñā*, need for the prohibition of *samānaśabdas*.

पाठेन धातुसंज्ञायां समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If those that are read in the *Dhātupāṭha* are given *dhātusaṁjñā*, there is need to prohibit words of the same form not doing the same function from taking *dhātusaṁjñā*.

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या इति धातुः, या इत्याबन्तः [1] ; वा इति धातुः, वा इति निपातः ; नु इति धातुः, नु इति प्रत्ययश्च निपातश्च ; दिव् इति धातुः, दिव् इति प्रातिपदिकम् ।

Yā is a root, and *yā* is a relative pronoun in the feminine gender ; *vā* is a root, and *vā* is a *nipāta* (in the sense of *or* etc.); *nu* is a root and *nu* is a *pratyaya* and a *nipāta*; *div* is a root and *div* is a *prātipadika* (meaning heaven).

किं च स्याद् यद्येतेषामपि धातुसंज्ञा स्यात् ?

What will happen if they too get *dhātusaṁjñā*?

धातोरिति तव्यदादीनामुत्पत्तिः प्रसज्येत

There is chance for them to be suffixed by the *kṛt-pratyayas* like *tavyat* which come under the *adhikārasūtra Dhātōḥ* (3, 1, 91)

NOTE :—*T* at the end of *tavyat* is for the sake of *svarita-svara* by the *sūtra Tit svaritam* (6, 1, 185).

नैष दोषः । साधने तव्यदादयो विधीयन्ते, साधनं च क्रियायाः । क्रियाभावात् साधनाभावः । साधनाभावात् सत्यामपि धातुसंज्ञायां तव्यदादयो न भविष्यन्ति

This difficulty does not arise. The *kṛt-pratyayas* like *tavyat* are enjoined to denote *karmatva*, *karaṇatva* etc. and *karmatvādi-sādhana* is found only with reference to *kriyā* (action); there is no *sādhana* if there is no *kriyā*. Hence the *pratyayas tavyat* etc. cannot be suffixed to them though they get the *dhātu-saṁjñā*, on account of their having no *sādhana*.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that *sādhana* is *upalakṣaṇa* to *bhāva*.

इदं तर्हि 'याः पश्य', आतो धातोः इति लोपः प्रसज्येत

If so, the *ā* of *yāḥ* in *yāḥ paśya* has a chance to be elided by the *sūtra Ātō dhātōḥ* (6, 4, 140).

नैष दोषः, अनापः इत्येवं सः

This difficulty cannot arise, since *ātaḥ* is found in the *sūtra* and not *āpaḥ*.

1. Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit reads in Śabdakāustubha thus :—*Bhīmasēnādayō hi artham nirdidiśuḥ iti smaryatē. Pāṇinis tu Bhvēdha...ityādi apāṭhīt.*

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अस्य तर्हि वाशब्दस्य निपातस्याधातुरिति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत । अप्रातिपदिकत्वात् स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्न स्यात् ।

If so, the *pratiṣēdha* of the *prātipadikasaṁjñā* chances to happen to the *nipāta vā* on account of the mention of *adhātuḥ* in the *sūtra Arthavad-adhātur-apratyayaḥ prātipadikam* and case-suffixes cannot be attached to it on account of its not being a *prātipadika*.

नैष दोषः । निपातस्यानर्थकस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वं चोदितं, तत्र अनर्थकग्रहणं न करिष्यते । निपातः प्रातिपदिकम् इत्येव

This difficulty does not arise. Reference was made regarding the *prātipadikatva* of the *nipāta* which has no meaning; but the word *anarthaka* is not found in that *sūtra*. Hence *nipāta* becomes a *prātipadika*.

इह तर्हि त्रस्नू इति अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोः इति उवाङादेशः प्रसज्येत

In the word *trasnū*, then, there is chance for the *ādēśa uvaṅ* by the *sūtra Aci śnudhātubhruvām yvōḥ* (6, 4, 77).

NOTE:—Though the root is read as *ṇu*, *nu* is referred to here since it is replaced by *nu* in actual speech. *Trasnū* is *knupratyayānta*.

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न प्रत्ययस्योवङादेशो भवति इति, यदयं तत्र श्नुग्रहणं करोति

This difficulty does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *pratyaya* does not take *uvaṅ-ādēśa*, since he reads *śnu* in the *sūtra*.

अस्तु तर्हि दिव्शब्दस्य अधातुरिति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत । अप्रातिपदिकत्वात् स्वाद्युत्पत्तिर्न स्यात्

If so, there is chance for the *pratiṣēdha* of the *prātipadika-saṁjñā* with reference to this *div* on account of the mention of *adhātuḥ* in the *sūtra Arthavad-adhātur-apratyayaḥ*....On account of the absence of *prātipadikasaṁjñā*, there is no chance for case-suffixes to be attached to it.

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति उत्पद्यन्ते दिव्शब्दात् स्वादय इति, यदयं दिवः सावौत्वं शास्ति ।

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This difficulty does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that case-suffixes are attached to the word *div*, since he enjoins that *v* will be replaced by *āu* before *s* (in the *sūtra Diva āut* 7-1-84).

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This cannot be the *jñāpaka*; for there is another *prayōjana* for its mention.

किम्? What?

दिवूशब्दो यः प्रातिपदिकं तदर्थमेतत् स्यात् - अक्षद्यूः इति

This is intended for the word *div* when it stands as a *prātipadika*, as in *akṣadyūḥ*.

न वै अत्रेष्यते It is not required here (by *śiṣṭas*.)

अनिष्टं च प्राप्नोति, इष्टं च न सिध्यति

It will appear where it is not needed and it will not appear where it is needed.

एवं तर्हि अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य इत्येवम् एतस्य न भविष्यति

If so, that which has an *anubandha* is not referred to by that which is read without an *anubandha*.

NOTE:—The root *div* is read as *divu* in the *Dhātupāṭha* and hence it cannot be referred to by *divaḥ* in the *sūtra Diva āut* (7, 1, 84).

एवमप्यननुबन्धको दिवूशब्दो नास्तीति कृत्वा सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते।

Even then, that with *anubandha* is taken into account on seeing that there is none without *anubandha*.

परिमाणग्रहणं च

(The need too for) the mention of the outer limit of each.

परिमाणग्रहणं च कर्तव्यम् - इयानवधिर्धातुसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

There is need to mention the outer limit also. It is necessary to state that *dhātusaṃjñā* extends as far as this.

कुतो ह्येतत्? What is this for?

भूशब्दो धातुसंज्ञो भविष्यति, न पुनर्भ्वेधशब्दः इति

So that *bhū* can take *dhātusaṃjñā* and not *bhvēdha*.

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NOTE :—1. *Avadhi* in the *bhāṣya* means *avadhimān*.

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* holds that *bhū sattāyām* etc. is *apāṇinīya* and the meaning mentioned there is taken to be *upalakṣaṇa* by *abhiyuktas*. *Abhiyukta* here, *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says, refers to *Bhīmasēna*.

यदि पुनः

क्रियावचनो धातुः

इत्येतल्लक्षणं क्रियेत

If then, *dhātu* is defined to be that which connotes *kriyā* !

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Ēvam sati samānaśabdānām pratiṣēdhō na vaktavyaḥ, nāpi parimāṇagrahaṇam.*

का पुनः क्रिया ? What, then, is *kriyā* ?

ईहा *Īhā*.

का पुनरीहा ? What, then, is *īhā ?*

चेष्टा *Cēṣṭā*.

का पुनश्चेष्टा What, then, is *cēṣṭā ?*

व्यापारः Action.

सर्वथा भवान् शब्देनैव शब्दानाचष्टे, न किञ्चिदर्थजातं निदर्शयति एवंजातीयका क्रिया इति ।

You always explain words with words and do not show any object telling *kriyā* is like this.

क्रिया नामेयमत्यन्तापरिदृष्टा अशक्या पिण्डीभूता निदर्शयितुं, यथा गर्भो निर्लुठितः । सासावनुमानगम्या

Kriyā is not cognisible through other *pramāṇas* and cannot be shown as a mass unlike a child that has gone out of the womb ; it can be understood only through *anumāna*.

NOTE :—The *nirluṭhita-garbha* is a *vāidharmyadṛṣṭānta*.

कोसावनुमानः ? What is this *anumāna ?*

इह सर्वेषु साधनेषु सन्निहितेषु कदाचित् पचति इत्येतद् भवति, कदाचिन्न भवति । यस्मिन् सन्निहिते पचति इत्येतद् भवति सा नूनं क्रिया । अथ वा यया देवदत्त इह भूत्वा पाटलिपुत्रे भवति सा नूनं क्रिया ।

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When all the requisites are here at hand, there is sometimes a chance to say *pacati* (cooks) and sometimes not. That is evidently the *kriyā*, in the presence of which there is a chance to say *pacati*. Or it is definitely the *kriyā* by which *Dēvadatta*, having been here, is now at *Pāṭaliputra*.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते क्रियावचनाः पचादय इति ?

How is it understood that *pacādis* are *kriyāvacanas?*

यदेतेषां करोतिना सामानाधिकरण्यम् - किं करोति ? पचति । किं करिष्यति ? पक्ष्यति । किमकार्षीद् अपाक्षीद् इति

Since there is *sāmānādhikaraṇya* between them and the root *kṛ*. What does he do? He cooks. What will he do? He will cook. What did he do? He cooked.

तत्र - There

क्रियावचने उपसर्गप्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः

If *dhātu* is defined to be *kriyāvacana*, there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *upasarga* and *pratyaya*.

क्रियावचने धातावुपसर्गप्रत्यययोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, पचति प्रपचति

If *dhātu* is defined to be *kriyāvacana*, there is need to prohibit *dhātusaṁjñā* to *upasarga* and *pratyaya*, as in *pacati* and *prapacati*.

NOTE:—The *pratyaya ti* in *pacati* and the *upasarga pra* in *prapacati* may also take the *saṁjñā* in his opinion.

किं पुनः कारणं प्राप्नोति ? How can they get the *saṁjñā?*

सङ्घातेनार्थगतेः

Since meaning is understood from the whole word.

सङ्घातेन ह्यर्थो गम्यते सप्रकृतिकेन सप्रत्ययकेन सोपसर्गेण च

For meaning is made out from the whole consisting of the stem, the *pratyaya* and the *upasarga*.

अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनां च धातुत्वम्

(Need for enjoining) *dhātutva* to *as*, *bhū* and *vid* (4th conj.) (i.e., to roots which mean *to be, to exist* etc.)

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अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनां च धातुसंज्ञा वक्तव्या । यथा हि भवता करोतिना पचादीनां सामानाधिकरण्यं दर्शितं, न तथा अस्त्यादीनां निदर्श्यते । न हि भवति - किं करोति ? अस्ति इति

Dhātu-saṁjñā has to be enjoined to *as*, *bhū* and *vid* (4th conj.). *Sāmānādhikaraṇya* which is shown to exist between *kṛ* and *pac* etc. is not shown to exist between the same *kṛ* and *as* etc. The answer *asti* (he is) is never possible to the question *kiṁ karōti* (what does he do ?).

प्रत्ययार्थस्याव्यतिरेकात्प्रकृत्यन्तरेषु [1]

On account of the absence of the change of meaning in the *pratyaya* when it is used along with other stems (in words having different meanings).

प्रत्ययार्थस्याव्यतिरेकात् प्रकृत्यन्तरेषु मन्यामहे धातुरेव क्रियामाहेति । पचति पठति - प्रकृत्यर्थोऽन्यश्चान्यश्च, प्रत्ययार्थः स एव ।

On account of the absence of the change of meaning in the *pratyaya* in words having different stems, we think that *dhātu* alone connotes *kriyā*. In the two words *pacati* and *paṭhati*, the meanings of the stems are different, while the meaning of the *pratyaya* remains the same.

धातोश्चार्थाभेदात्प्रत्ययान्तरेषु

On account of the absence of the change of meaning in the *dhātu* also when it is used with other *pratyayas*.

धातोश्चार्थाभेदात् प्रत्ययान्तरेषु मन्यामहे धातुरेव क्रियामाहेति । पक्तिः पचनं पाक इति - प्रत्ययार्थोऽन्यश्चान्यश्च भवति, प्रकृत्यर्थः स एव ।

On account of the absence of the change of meaning in the *dhātu* also in words used with other *pratyayas*, we think that it is *dhātu* alone that connotes *kriyā*. In the words *paktiḥ*, *pacanam* and *pākaḥ*, the meanings of the *pratyayas* are different, while the meaning of the *prakṛti* remains the same.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते अयं प्रकृत्यर्थः अयं प्रत्ययार्थ इति

How is it known that this is *prakṛtyartha* and this is *pratyayārtha* ?

1. This is the answer to the question कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते क्रियावचनाः पचादय इति ?

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अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्याम्

Through *anvaya* (logical continuance) and *vyatirēka* (logical discontinuance).

अन्वयाच्च व्यतिरेकाच्च Through *anvaya* and *vyatirēka*.

कोऽसावन्वयो व्यतिरेको वा ? What is this—*anvaya* or *vyatirēka*?

इह पचतीत्युक्ते कश्चिच्छब्दः श्रूयते - पच्छब्दः चकारान्तः, अतिशब्दश्च प्रत्ययः । अर्थोऽपि कश्चिद् गम्यते विक्लित्तिः कर्तृत्वं, एकत्वं च । पठति इत्युक्ते कश्चित् शब्दो हीयते, कश्चिद् उपजायते, कश्चिद् अन्वयी । पच् - शब्दो हीयते, पठ् - शब्द उपजायते, अतिशब्दोऽन्वयी । अर्थोऽपि कश्चित् हीयते, कश्चिद् उपजायते, कश्चिद् अन्वयी । विक्लित्तिर्हीयते, पठिक्रिया उपजायते, कर्तृत्वं च एकत्वं च अन्वयी । ते मन्यामहे - यः शब्दो हीयते तस्यासौ अर्थः योऽर्थो हीयते, यः शब्द उपजायते तस्यासावर्थः योऽर्थ उपजायते, यः शब्दोऽन्वयी तस्यासावर्थः योऽर्थोऽन्वयी ।

Here in the word *pacati*, the element *pac* which ends in *c* is heard and the element *ati*, the *pratyaya*, is also heard. Meaning too—modification into boiled rice, *kartṛtva* (the state of being the agent) and *ēkatva* (oneness) - is understood. Here in the word *paṭhati*, a portion of the word found in *pacati* has been dropped, something has been inserted in its place and a portion continues to be the same. The element *pac* has disappeared, the element *paṭh* has taken its place, and the element *ati* continues to be the same. An element in the meaning too has disappeared, another has taken its place and another element continues to be the same. *Viklṭti* has disappeared, the act of reading has taken its place and *kartṛtva* and *ēkatva* continue to be the same. Hence we infer that the element in the word which has disappeared has for its meaning the element in the meaning which has disappeared, the element in the word which has newly appeared has for its meaning the element in the meaning which has newly set in and the element in the word which continues to be the same has for its meaning the element in the meaning which continues to be the same.

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विषम उपन्यासः - बहवो हि शब्दा एकार्था भवन्ति; तद्यथा इन्द्रः, शक्रः, पुरुहूतः, पुरन्दरः [1]; कन्दुः, कोष्ठः, कुसूल इति । एकश्च शब्दो बह्वर्थः; तद्यथा अक्षाः, पादाः, माषा इति

The argument is not sound; for many words have the same meaning like *Indra*, *Śakra*, *Puruhūta* and *Purandara* (to denote *Indra*) and *kandu*, *kōṣṭha* and *kusūla* (to denote granary) and one word has many meanings like the words *akṣāḥ*, *pādāḥ* and *māṣāḥ*.

अतः किं न साधीयोऽर्थवत्ता सिद्धा भवति ?

Does this not clearly prove the capacity of denoting meaning in words?

नापि ब्रूमोऽर्थवत्ता न सिध्यति इति । वर्णिता ह्यर्थवत्ता - अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामेव । तत्र कुत एतद् अयं प्रकृत्यर्थः अयं प्रत्ययार्थ इति, न पुनः प्रकृतिरेवोभावर्थौ ब्रूयात् प्रत्यय एव वा ?

We do not say that *arthavattā* is not achieved. The *arthavattā* was explained through *anvaya* and *vyatirēka*. How is it taken there that this is *prakṛtyartha* and this is *pratyayārtha*? Why should it not be said that both are the *arthas* of the *prakṛti* or the *pratyaya*?

सामान्यशब्दा एत एवं स्युः । सामान्यशब्दाश्च नान्तरेण प्रकरणं विशेषणं वा विशेषेष्ववतिष्ठन्ते । यतस्तु खलु नियोगतः पचतीत्युक्ते स्वभावतः कस्मिंश्चिद्विशेषे पच्शब्दो वर्तते अतो मन्यामहे नेमे सामान्यशब्दा इति । न चेत् सामान्यशब्दाः प्रकृतिः प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययार्थे ।

If so, they will become *sāmānyaśabdas*. *Sāmānyaśabdas* need *prakaraṇa* or *viśēṣaṇa* (adjunct) to denote *viśēṣas*. Since the word *pacati* is used as an answer to a question, *pac* is naturally a *viśēṣaśabda* and hence they do not come under the category of *sāmānyaśabdas*. If they are not *sāmānyaśabdas*, *prakṛti* denotes *prakṛtyartha* and *pratyaya* suggests *pratyayārtha*.

1. It is interesting to note that the words *Puruhūta* and *Purandara* are found in the hymns of the *Ṛgvēda* only as *viśēṣaṇas* and not as *viśēṣyas*. From the above statement it is clear that they became *viśēṣyas* before *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* time.

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क्रियाविशेषक उपसर्गः

Upasarga enables the *dhātu* to denote another *kriyā*.

पचति इति क्रिया गम्यते, तां प्रो विशिनष्टि ।

Kriyā is denoted by *pac* and it is differentiated by *pra*.

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतत् शक्यते वक्तुं यत्र धातुरुपसर्गं व्यभिचरति, यत्र न खलु तं व्यभिचरति तत्र कथम् - अध्येति अधीते इति ?

Even though it is possible to say so in cases where *dhātus* can be used alone or with *upasargas,* how are we to meet the situation where *dhātus* are invariably used along with prepositions, as in *adhyēti* and *adhītē* ?

यद्यप्यत्र धातुरुपसर्गं न व्यभिचरति, उपसर्गस्तु धातुं व्यभिचरति । ते मन्यामहे य एवास्य अधेरन्यत्र अर्थः स इहापि ।

Even though the root is not used except with an *upasarga,* the *upasarga* is used with roots other than it. Hence we take that it has the same meaning here as elsewhere.

कः पुनरन्यत्राधेरर्थः ?

What, then, is the meaning suggested by *adhi* elsewhere ?

अधिरुपरिभावे वर्तते *Adhi* suggests the meaning—*above.*

इह तर्हि व्यक्तमर्थान्तरं गम्यते - तिष्ठति, प्रतिष्ठते इति । तिष्ठति इति व्रजिक्रियाया निवृत्तिः । प्रतिष्ठत इति व्रजिक्रिया गम्यते । ते मन्यामहे उपसर्गकृतमेतद्, येनात्र व्रजिक्रिया गम्यते ।

Here in the words *tiṣṭhati* and *pratiṣṭhatē* the meanings are definitely different. The root *sthā* means the absence of going and *pra-sthā* means going. Therefore the sense of going found in the latter is due to the *upasarga pra.*

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* here says that the above statement suggests three things :—(1) If the act of going is suggested by the preposition alone, *sthā* cannot get the *dhātusaṁjñā*. (2) It cannot be the meaning of *sthā* alone, since it has a contrary meaning. (3) If it is the meaning of *pra-sthā,* it alone can get the *dhātusaṁjñā*.

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प्रोयं दृष्टापचारः आदिकर्मणि वर्तते । न चेदं नास्ति बह्वर्था अपि धातवो भवन्तीति ; तद्यथा - वपिः प्रकिरणे दृष्टः, छेदने चापि वर्तते - केशश्मश्रु वपति इति ; ईडिः स्तुतिचोदनायाच्ञासु दृष्टः, प्रेरणे चापि वर्तते - अग्निर्वा इतो वृष्टिमीट्टे मरुतोऽमुतश्च्यावयन्ति इति ; करोतिः अभूतप्रादुर्भावे दृष्टः, निर्मलीकरणे चापि वर्तते - पृष्ठं कुरु, पादौ कुरु - उन्मृदान इति गम्यते । निक्षेपणे चापि वर्तते कटे कुरु, घटे कुरु, अश्मानमितः कुरु, स्थापय इति गम्यते । एवमिहापि तिष्ठतिरेव व्रजिक्रियामाह तिष्ठतिरेव व्रजिक्रियाया निवृत्तिम् ।

This *pra* suggesting departure is used (with *sthā*) to denote the initial action after stopping. It cannot be said that *dhātus* do not have many meanings. It may be illustrated thus:—The root *vap*, which is used to mean *to sow*, is also used to mean *to cut*, as in the sentence *kēśaśmaśru vapati* (he shaves his head and beard); the root *īḍ* which is used to mean *to praise*, *to enjoin* and *to beg* is also used to mean *to drive*, as in *Agnir vā itō vṛṣṭim īṭṭē marutōsmutaś cyāvayanti* (Fire drives the cloud from here and winds from there). The root *kṛ* which is used to mean *to do*, is also used to mean *to clean*, as in the sentences *pṛṣṭham kuru* (clean your back), *pādāu kuru* (clean your feet), (i.e.) it means *to rub off* with earth. It is used also in the sense of *to put in*, as in the sentences *kaṭē kuru* (bury in the burial ground), *ghaṭē kuru* (put in the pot), *aśmānam itaḥ kuru* (put in the stone here) (i.e.) it means *to bury* [1]. So also the root *sthā*, here, conveys the meaning of going and the same conveys the meaning of stopping also.

अयं तर्हि दोषः - अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनां धातुत्वम् इति

This *dōṣa*, then, remains that *dhātusaṁjñā* should be enjoined to *as*, *bhū* and *vid* (4th conj.)

यदि पुनः

भाववचनो धातुः

1. It may also be noted that *kṛ* means *to know* in the *vārttika Yasmāi tarhi sampratyupadiśati tasya akṛtaḥ* under (1, 1, 1), it means *to accomplish* in the word *kṛtakṛtyāḥ* and it means *to be in the vicinity of* in the word *akṛtadārāḥ* with reference to *Lakṣmaṇa* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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इत्येतल्लक्षणं क्रियेत Suppose *dhātu* is defined to connote *bhāva*.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भाववचनाः पचादय इति?

How is it understood that *pac* etc. connote *bhāva*?

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here:—*Kriyāśabdaḥ saparispandasādhanasādhyārthē rūḍhaḥ bhāvaśabdaś ca saparispanda-aparispanda-anyatarasādhanasādhyaḥ.*

यदेषां भवतिना सामानाधिकरण्यम् - भवति पचति, भवति पक्ष्यति, भवति अपाक्षीद् इति

Since these have *sāmānādhikaraṇya* with *bhavati* as in *bhavati pacati*, *bhavati pakṣyati* and *bhavati apākṣīt*.

NOTE:—*Bhavati pacati* means *yat-kartṛkā pacikriyā tat-kartṛkā sattā* (i.e.) he who cooks lives. Here *bhavanam* means *ātmabharaṇam*. The *adhikaraṇa* of cooking is the *adhikaraṇa* of living. Hence *bhavati* and *pacati* are said to have *sāmānādhikaraṇya*.

कः पुनर्भावः? What is *bhāva*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Yadi kriyāiva bhāvaḥ tadā pakṣāntarōpādānam anarthakam, anyaḥ tadā avyāptir iti praśnaḥ.*

भवतेः स्वपदार्थो भवनं भाव इति

Bhāva means *bhavanam* which is the intrinsic meaning of the root *bhū*.

यदि भवतेः स्वपदार्थो भवनं भावः, विप्रतिषिद्धानां धातुसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, भेदः छेदः। अन्यो हि भावः अन्योऽभावः। आतश्चान्यो भावः अन्योऽभाव इति, यो हि यस्य भावमिच्छति स न तस्याभावम्, यस्य चाभावं न तस्य भावम्। पचादीनां च धातुसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, यथा हि भवता क्रियावचने धातौ करोतिना सामानाधिकरण्यं निदर्शितं न तथा भाववचने धातौ निदर्श्यते। करोतिः पचादीनां सर्वान् कालान् सर्वान् पुरुषान् सर्वाणि वचनानि अनुवर्तते। भवतिः पुनः वर्तमानकालत्वं चैकत्वं च।

If *bhāva* means *bhavanam*, the true meaning of the root *bhū*, those like *bhid*, *chid* which give a diametrically opposite meaning cannot get *dhātusaṁjñā*; for *bhāva* is one and *abhāva* is another. For the same reason, since *bhāva* is one and

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abhāva is another, he who desires one's existence does not desire its absence and he who desires one's absence does not desire its existence. There is no chance for *pac* etc. to get *dhātusaṁjñā*, since the *sāmānādhikaraṇya* that was shown by you between them and the root *kṛ* is not shown in the same way between them and the root *bhū*. *Kṛ* agrees with *pac* etc. in all tenses, in all persons and in all numbers; but the root *bhū*, is used only in the present tense and in the singular number.

का तर्हि इयं वाचोयुक्तिः भवति पचति, भवति पक्ष्यति, भवति अपाक्षीद् इति ?

How, then, is this expression :—*bhavati pacati*, *bhavati pakṣyati*, *bhavati apākṣīt* to be construed?

एषैषा वाचोयुक्तिः - पचादयः क्रियाः भवतिक्रियायाः कर्त्र्यो भवन्ति इति

That expression has to be taken in this way :—*Pacādi-kriyāḥ* become the agents of *bhavati-kriyā*.

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं, यत्र अन्या चान्या च क्रिया । यत्र खलु सैव क्रिया, तत्र कथं भवेदपि भवेत्, स्यादपि स्याद् इति ?

Even though it is possible to explain in this way when the roots are different, how is it possible to explain when the roots are the same, as in *bhāvēt bhāvēt* and *syāt syāt?*

अत्राप्यन्यत्वमस्ति They too are taken to be different.

कुतः ? How ?

कालभेदात् साधनभेदाच्च । एकस्यात्र भवतेर्भवतिः साधनं, सर्वकालश्च प्रत्ययः । अपरस्य बाह्यं साधनं वर्तमानकालश्च प्रत्ययः

On account of difference in the tense and the *sādhana*. One has for its *sādhana bhavati* and the *pratyaya* denoting all the three tenses and another has for its *sādhana* an external element and the *pratyaya* denoting the present tense.

NOTE :—The expression *bhavēd bhavēt* may be translated thus :—May the present life continue for ever!

यावता अत्राप्यन्यत्वमस्ति पचादयश्च क्रिया भवतिक्रियायाः कर्त्र्यो भवन्तीति, अस्त्वयं कर्तृसाधनः भवतीति भाव इति

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Even though it is possible to show that there is *anyatva* and *pacādikriyās* become agent to *bhavatikriyā* (on the basis of *bhāvasādhanatva*), let the word *bhāva* be *kartṛsādhana* so that it has its derivation *bhavati iti*.

किं कृतं भवति? What is accomplished by it?

विप्रतिषिद्धानां धातुसंज्ञा सिद्धा भवति

Dhātusaṁjñā is accomplished with reference to those which have a diametrically opposite meaning.

भवेद्विप्रतिषिद्धानां धातुसंज्ञा सिद्धा स्यात्, प्रातिपदिकानामपि तु प्राप्नोति, वृक्षः प्लक्ष इति

It is true that the desired *dhātusaṁjñā* is accomplished with reference to those which have a diametrically opposite meaning, but the same has a chance to appear with reference to the *prātipadikas* like *vṛkṣa* and *plakṣa*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

एतान्यपि हि भवन्ति For these two have their *janma* (*bhāva*).

एवं तर्हि कर्मसाधनो भविष्यति, भाव्यते यः स भाव इति । क्रिया चैव हि भाव्यते, स्वभावसिद्धं तु द्रव्यम्

If so, let it be *karmasādhana*, so that *bhāva* means that which is made to appear. It is the *kriyā* which is made to appear and *dravya* is evidently *siddhāvastha* through *śabdaśaktisvabhāva*.

एवमपि भवेत् केषांचिन्न स्याद् यानि न भाव्यन्ते

Even then there is chance for others too which do not come under the category of those that are not made to appear.

ये त्वेते सम्बन्धिशब्दास्तेषां प्राप्नोति - माता, पिता, भ्राता इति

These words of relationship like *mātā*, *pitā* and *bhrātā* which come under the category of those that are made to appear will get it (*dhātusaṁjñā*).

सर्वथा वयं प्रातिपदिकपर्युदासान्न मुच्यामहे

In whatever way we explain we cannot escape to rid *prātipadika* from coming within its range.

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पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यो भूवादिपाठः प्रातिपदिकाणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थः इति । यावता पठिष्यति - पचादयश्च क्रियाः भवतिक्रियायाः कर्त्र्यो भवन्तीति, अस्त्वयं कर्तृसाधनो भवतीति भावः

Ācārya (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read that the purpose of the *Dhātupāṭha* is to prevent *prātipadika*, *āṇavayati* etc from getting *dhātusaṁjñā*. Because he reads it, let *bhāva* be *kartṛ-sādhana* since *pacādikriyās* become the agents of *bhavatikriyā*.

NOTE :—*Āṇavayati* is the *Prākṛtic* form of *ājñāpayati*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ? Is this to be said ?

न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How is it understood without its being said?

एतेनैव अभिहितं सूत्रेण भूवादयो धातवः इति

It is understood from this *sūtra Bhūvādayō dhātavaḥ*.

कथम् ? How ?

नेदमादिग्रहणम् It is not the word *ādi* that is read here.

वदेरयमौणादिक इञ् कर्तृसाधनः भुवं वदन्तीति भूवादय इति

Bhūvādayaḥ means those which tell *bhū* and is derived thus :- *bhuvam* (*jāyamānam*) *vadanti iti* and the word is formed thus :- *bhū*+*vad*+*iñ* (*uṇādipratyaya*) where *iñ* suggests *kartṛsādhanatva*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Jāyamānam artham yē abhi-dadhati tē dhātava ityarthaḥ*. *Bhavatir atra janmavācī gṛhyatē*.

भाववचने धातौ तदर्थप्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः

If *dhātu* is taken to denote *bhāva*, there is need to prohibit *dhātusaṁjñā* from reaching *pratyayas* which denote *bhāva*.

भाववचने धातौ तदर्थस्य प्रत्ययस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । शिश्ये इति

If *dhātu* is taken to denote *bhāva*, there is need to prohibit *dhātusaṁjñā* from reaching *pratyayas* which denote *bhāva* as *ē* in *śiśyē*. [1]

1. *Śiśyē* is the third person singular, perfect in *bhāvēprayōga*. If *dhātu* is taken to denote *bhāva*, *ē* has a chance to be taken as *dhātu* and then it has a chance to be changed to *ā* by the *sūtra Ād-ēca upadēśa aśiti* (6, 1, 45).

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किं च स्यात् ? What will happen (if it is not done)?

अशिति इत्यात्वं प्रसज्येत, तद्धि धातोर्विहितम्

E will have a chance to be changed to *ā*, since it is enjoined to *dhātu*.

इतरेतराश्रयं च, प्रत्यये भाववचनत्वं तस्माच्च प्रत्ययः

Interdependence too, *bhāvavacanatva* coming in when there is *pratyaya* and the use of *pratyaya* to denote it.

इतरेतराश्रयं च भवति There sets in interdependence too.

का इतरेतराश्रयता ? How does interdependence arise?

प्रत्यये भाववचनत्वं, तस्माच्च प्रत्ययः — उत्पन्ने हि प्रत्यये भाववचनत्वं गम्यते, स च तावद् भाववचनाद् उत्पाद्यः । तदेतद् इतरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

Pratyayē bhāvavacanatvam, tasmāc ca pratyayaḥ—when *pratyaya* exists, it is taken to suggest *bhāvavacanatva* and to denote *bhāvavacanatva pratyaya* is to be used. This is the interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished.

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वादनाश्रित्य भाववचनत्वं प्रत्ययः

Our object is gained on account of the *nityatva* of *śabda* and on account of the use of the *pratyaya* without looking for *bhāvavacanatva*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the desired object) is accomplished.

कथम् ? How?

नित्यशब्दत्वात् - नित्याः शब्दाः ; नित्येषु शब्देषु अनाश्रित्य भाववचनत्वं प्रत्यय उत्पद्यते ।

(It is so) since *śabda* is *nitya*—*Śabdas* are *nitya*; when *śabdas* are *nitya*, the *pratyaya* exists without its depending upon *bhāvavacanatva*.

प्रथमभावग्रहणं च

Reading, too, the adjunct *prathama* to *bhāva* (in the *vārttika* *Bhāvavacanō dhātuḥ*).

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प्रथमभावग्रहणं च कर्तव्यम्, प्रथमं यो भावमाह इति

Mention is to be made of the adjunct *prathama* to *bhāva*, so that it may mean that which denotes *bhāva* first.

कुतः पुनः प्राथम्यम्? किं शब्दतः आहोस्विद् अर्थतः

From which standpoint is *prāthamya* to be considered? Is it with reference to *śabda* or with reference to *artha?*

किं चातः? What is the difference?

यदि शब्दतः सनादीनां धातुसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति - पुत्रीयति वस्त्रीयति

If it is with reference to *śabda*, *sanādis*, as in *putrīyati* and *vastrīyati* cannot get the *dhātusaṁjñā* (since the element *putra* which is pronounced first does not denote *bhāva*).

अथ अर्थतः, सिद्धा सनादीनां धातुसंज्ञा, स एव तु दोषो भाववचने तदर्थ-प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः इति ।

If, then, it is with reference to *artha*, *sanādis* get *dhātusaṁjñā* (since *bhāva* is mentioned by *kyac* first); but the defect *bhāva-vacanē tad-artha-pratyaya-pratiṣēdhaḥ* stands.

एवं तर्हि नापि शब्दतो नाप्यर्थतः

If so, it is neither with reference to *śabda* nor with reference to *artha.*

किं तर्हि? With reference to what then?

अभिधानतः

From the standpoint of the capacity of denoting *bhāva.*

सुमध्यमेऽभिधाने यः प्रथमं भावमाह

That which denotes *bhāva* first through its capacity which well stands *via-media* (between *śabda* and *artha*).

इह ये एव भाववचने धातौ दोषाः, त एव क्रियावचनेऽपि । तत्र त एव परिहाराः

Here, the defects noted with reference to the *pakṣa* '*bhāva-vacanō dhātuḥ*' and the arguments advanced to meet them remain the same for the *pakṣa* '*Kriyāvacanō dhātuḥ*' also.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, in that *pakṣa*, *prathama-bhāva-grahaṇam* should be changed to *prathama-kriyā-grahaṇam.*

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तत्रेदमपरिहृतम् - अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनां धातुत्वमिति

In the *kriyāvacanapakṣa*, the point that *dhātutva* should be enjoined to *as*, *bhū* and *vid* (4th conj.) remains unmet.

तस्य परिहारः Meeting it thus :-

कां पुनः क्रियां भवान् मत्वा आह, अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनां धातुसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति इति ? किं यत्तद्देवदत्तः कंसपात्र्यां पाणिनौदनं भुङ्क्ते इति ?

Which is taken to be *kriyā* by you when you make the statement that *as*, *bhū* and *vid* cannot take *dhātusaṁjñā*? What is the *kriyā* when it is said that *Dēvadatta* eats the food in the bell-metal-plate with his hand?

न ब्रूमः कारकाणि क्रिया इति

We do not say that the *kārakas* are *kriyā*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

कारकाणां प्रवृत्तिविशेषः क्रिया । अन्यथा च कारकाणि शुष्कौदने प्रवर्तन्ते, अन्यथा च मांसौदने

The special act which enables the *kārakas* to function is the *kriyā*. The method of functioning of the *kārakas* when pure rice is eaten is different from that when rice mixed with meat is eaten.

NOTE :—Food is *karma-kāraka*, bell-metal-plate is *adhikaraṇa-kāraka* and hand is *karaṇa-kāraka* to the *kriyā* of eating.

यद्येवं सिद्धा अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनां धातुसंज्ञा । अन्यथा हि कारकाणि अस्तौ प्रवर्तन्ते, अन्यथा हि म्रियतौ ।

If so, it is decided that *as*, *bhū* and *vid* get *dhātusaṁjñā*. The *kārakas* with reference to *as* function in a different way from that in which those with reference to *mṛ* function.

षड् भावविकाराः इति ह स्माह भगवान् वार्ष्यायणिः - जायते, अस्ति, विपरिणमते, वर्धते, अपक्षीयते, विनश्यति इति ।

The revered *Vārṣyāyaṇi* said that six are the changes in the state of existence :—*jāyatē* (is born), *asti* (continues to exist),

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vipariṇamatē (transforms), *vardhatē* (grows), *apakṣīyatē* (decays) and *vinaśyati* (dies).

सर्वथा स्थित इत्यत्र धातुसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति ; बाह्यो ह्येतेभ्यः तिष्ठतिः ।

Anyhow from the fact that *asti* is one of the *bhāvavikāras*, *sthā* cannot receive *dhātusaṁjñā*, since *asti* is different from other *bhāvavikāras*.

एवं तर्हि क्रियायाः क्रिया निवर्तिका भवति, द्रव्यं द्रव्यस्य निवर्तकम् । एवं हि कश्चित् कञ्चित् पृच्छति किमवस्थो देवदत्तस्य व्याधिः इति ? स आह वर्द्धते इति ; अपर आह अपक्षीयते इति ; अपर आह स्थित इति । स्थित इत्युक्ते वर्धतेश्च अपक्षीयतेश्च निवृत्तिर्भवति ।

If so, one *kriyā* differentiates itself from another *kriyā* and one *dravya* differentiates itself from another *dravya.* One puts this question to another, 'How is *Dēvadatta*'s illness?' One says, '*Varddhatē* (it grows)'; another says '*Apakṣīyatē* (it declines)'; another says '*Sthitaḥ* (it stands in the same state).' The word *sthitaḥ* removes from our mind the idea conveyed by the words *varddhatē* and *apakṣīyatē*.

अथवा नान्तरेण क्रियां भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानाः कालाः व्यज्यन्ते । अस्त्यादिभिरपि भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानाः कालाः व्यज्यन्ते ।

Or the tenses – past, future and present – are not suggested except through *kriyā.* They – the past tense, the future tense and the present tense – are suggested by the *kriyās as* etc.

अथ वा नान्यत् पृष्टे न अन्यद् आख्येयम् । तेन न भविष्यति – किं करोति ? अस्ति इति

Or it is not proper to give an answer which is not suited to the question. Hence *asti* cannot be the suitable answer to the question *kiṁ karōti*.

NOTE :—From this it is clear that, if *dhātu* is defined as *kriyāvacana*, it is difficult to get the *dhātusaṁjñā* to *as*, *bhū* etc. If, on the other hand, it is defined as *bhāvavacana*, there is the need to read the adjunct *prathama* to *bhāva*.

अथ यद्येव क्रियावचनो धातुः इत्येष पक्षः, अथापि भाववचनो धातुः इति

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Let *dhātu* be defined as *bhāvavacana* in addition to its being defined as *kriyāvacana*.

किं गतमेतद् इयता सूत्रेण आहोस्विद् अन्यतरास्मिन् पक्षे भूयः सूत्रं कर्तव्यम् ?
Are both secured from this *sūtra* or another *sūtra* has to be read to secure that which is not secured by the one or the other?

गतमित्याह 'They are secured', says he.

कथम्? How?

अयमादिशब्दोऽस्त्येव व्यवस्थायां वर्तते, तद्यथा देवदत्तादीन् समुपविष्टान् आह देवदत्तादय आनीयन्ताम् इति । ते उत्थाप्य आनीयन्ते ।
This - the word *ādi* - suggests the relative position. It is seen from this:—One says, "Fetch *Dēvadattādis*" when *Dēvadatta* and others are sitting in a row. They are made to rise and are fetched.

अस्ति प्रकारे वर्तते, तद्यथा देवदत्तादय आढ्या अभिरूपा दर्शनीयाः पक्षवन्तः । देवदत्तप्रकारा इति गम्यते ।
It is used to denote species. It is seen from this:—*Dēvadattādis* are rich, beautiful, of fine complexion and have friends. From the word *Dēvadattādis*, the species of *Dēvadatta* is understood.

प्रत्येकं चादिशब्दः परिसमाप्यते भ्वादय इति च वादय इति च । तद्यदा तावत् क्रियावचनो धातुः इत्येष पक्षः तदा भू इत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स व्यवस्थायां वर्तते, वा इत्यत्र यः आदिशब्दः स प्रकारे, भू इत्येवमादयो वा इत्येवंप्रकारा इति । यदा तु भाववचनो धातुः इत्येष पक्षः तदा वा इत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स व्यवस्थायां, भू इत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स प्रकारे, वा इत्येवमादयो भू इत्येवंप्रकारा इति ।
The word *ādi* (in the *sūtra*) is taken individually with both—*bhū* and *vā* - so that we may expand *bhūvādayaḥ* into *bhvādayaḥ* and *vādayaḥ*. When we take the definition to be *kriyāvacanō dhātuḥ*, the word *ādi* which goes with *bhū* denotes the relative position and the word *ādi* which goes with *vā* denotes species, so that *bhūvādayaḥ* means *bhū ityēvamādayaḥ vā ityēvamprakārāḥ* (those which commence with *bhū* and those which belong

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to the same class as *vā*) When we take the definition to be *bhāvavacanō dhōtuḥ*, the word *ādi* which goes with *vā* denotes the relative position and the word *ādi* which goes with *bhū* denotes species, so that *bhūvādayaḥ* means *vā ityēvamādayaḥ bhū ityēvamprakārāḥ* (those which commence with *vā* and those belonging to the class of *bhū*).

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that, with reference to the latter *pakṣa* the *sūtra Adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* (2, 4, 72) should be read as *Vāprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*.

यदि तर्हि लक्षणं क्रियते नेदानीं पाठः कर्तव्यः

If, then, the definition is thus enunciated, there is no need to read the *Dhātupāṭha*.

कर्तव्यश्च It has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

भूवादिपाठः प्रातिपदिकाणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थः

The *Dhātupāṭha* is intended to prevent *prātipadika* and the class of *āṇavayati* from taking *dhātusaṁjñā*.

भूवादिपाठः कर्तव्यः *Dhātupāṭha* has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

प्रातिपदिकाणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थः - प्रातिपदिकनिवृत्त्यर्थं आणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थश्च

For preventing *prātipadika* and the class of *āṇavayati* from taking *dhātusaṁjñā*—For preventing the *prātipadika* (of the forms *bhōktum*, *bhuktvā* etc.) from taking the *saṁjñā* and for preventing the *prākṛtic* form of roots like *āṇavayati* (the *prākṛtic* form of *ājñāpayati*) from taking the *saṁjñā*.

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that no purpose is served by reading the word *prātipadika* in the above *vārttika*.

के पुनराणवयत्यादयः What are *āṇavayatyādis* ?

आणवयति, वट्टति, वड्ढयति इति

They are *āṇavayati*, *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhayati*.

स्वरानुबन्धज्ञापनाय च

For the sake of suggesting the *svara* and the *anubandha* too.

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स्वरानुबन्धज्ञापनाय च पाठः कर्तव्यः, स्वरान् अनुबन्धांश्च ज्ञास्यामि इति ।
Dhātupāṭha has to be read also for the sake of *svara* and *anubandha*, so that I may know the *svaras* and *anubandhas* (with which roots are read).

न ह्यन्तरेण पाठं स्वरा अनुबन्धा वा शक्या विज्ञातुम्
For it is not possible to know the *svaras* and the *anubandhas* with which roots are read without *Dhātupāṭha*.

ये त्वेते न्याय्यविकरणा उदात्ता अननुबन्धकाः पठ्यन्ते, एतेषां पाठः शक्योऽकर्तुम्
Those which take the usual conjugational signs, which are *udātta* and which are read without *anubandhas* may not be read in the *Dhātupāṭha*.

एतेषामप्यवश्यमाणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थः पाठः कर्तव्यः
They too have to be read so that the class of *āṇavayati* may not take the *saṁjñā*.

न कर्तव्यः No, it need not be done.

शिष्टप्रयोगादाणवयत्यादीनां निवृत्तिः
Nivṛtti of the class of *āṇavayati* through *śiṣṭaprayōga.*

शिष्टप्रयोगाद् आणवयत्यादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति
The *dhātusaṁjñā* is avoided from the class of *āṇavayati* through *śiṣṭaprayōga*.

स चावश्यं शिष्टप्रयोग उपास्यो येऽपि पठ्यन्ते तेषामपि विपर्यासनिवृत्त्यर्थः । लोके हि कृष्यर्थे किसिं प्रयुञ्जते दृश्यर्थे च दिसिम्
This *śiṣṭaprayōga* must, necessarily, be resorted to, so that even those that are read in the *Dhātupāṭha* may not be read in a different way. In the world *kis* is used in the sense of *to plough* and *dis* in the sense of *to see.*

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् (1, 3, 2)

There are *two* topics dealt with here:—(1) The *prayōjana* of the word *upadēśē* in the *sūtra* and the consequent discussion on the difference between *upadēśa* and *uddēśa* in their connotation (2) The meaning of the word *upadēśa* and its derivation.

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उपदेश इति किमर्थम् ?

What for is the word *upadēśē* read (in the *sūtra*)?

अभ्र आँ[1] अपः । उद्देशे योऽनुनासिकस्तस्य मा भूदिति

So that the *sūtra* may not operate where the *anunāsika* is not in *upadēśa* but is in *uddēśa*, as in *ā* in the *Vēdic* statement *Abhra ā apaḥ*.

कः पुनरुद्देशोपदेशयोर्विशेषः ?

What is the difference between *uddēśa* and *upadēśa*?

प्रत्यक्षमाख्यानमुपदेशः ; गुणैः प्रापणमुद्देशः

Upadēśa means the direct indication of that which can be perceived by senses and *uddēśa* means the indirect reference to that through its qualities.

प्रत्यक्षं तावदाख्यानमुपदेशः - तद्यथा, अगोज्ञाय कश्चिद् गां सक्थनि कर्णे वा गृहीत्वोपदिशति 'अयं गौः' इति । स प्रत्यक्षमाख्यातमाह 'उपदिष्टो मे गौः' इति ।

Firstly *upadēśa* is direct indication. It may be illustrated thus:-One taking hold of the thigh or the ear of a cow tells another who has no knowledge of cow, 'This is the cow.' He who has heard it said so as to appeal to his sense of sight replies, '*Gō* is *upadiṣṭa* to me.'

गुणैः प्रापणमुद्देशः - तद्यथा, कश्चित् कञ्चिद् आह 'देवदत्तं मे भवान् उद्दिशतु' इति । स इहस्थः पाटलिपुत्रस्थं देवदत्तमुद्दिशति 'अङ्गदी कुण्डली किरीटी व्यूढोरस्को वृत्तबाहुर्लोहिताक्षः तुङ्गनासो विचित्राभरण ईदृशो देवदत्तः इति । स गुणैः प्राप्यमाणमाह 'उद्दिष्टो मे देवदत्तः' इति ।

Uddēśa is indirect reference through qualities. This may be illustrated thus:–One tells another, "Tell me about *Dēvadatta*." He, being here, tells about *Dēvadatta* who is at *Pāṭaliputra* thus:—He wears armlets, ear-rings and crown; he has a wide chest, muscular arms, fiery eyes and prominent nose; and he wears diverse ornaments. This is the description of *Dēvadatta*. He who is instructed thus with such a description says, "*Uddiṣṭō mē Dēvadattaḥ*."

1. *Āṅ* has changed to *ā* by the *sūtra Āṅōऽanunāsikaś chandasi* (6, 1, 126).

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इत्संज्ञायां सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽविशेषात्
Chance for all with reference to *it-saṁjñā*, on account of no difference.

इत्संज्ञायां सर्वप्रसङ्गः - सर्वस्यानुनासिकस्येत्संज्ञा प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति, अभ्र आँ अपः

It-saṁjñāyām sarva-prasaṅgaḥ:—*It-saṁjñā* will chance to take hold of all *anunāsikas*. It will reach this too—($\tilde{\bar{a}}$ in) *abhra $\tilde{\bar{a}}$ apaḥ*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अविशेषात् On account of no difference.

न हि कश्चिद् विशेष उपादीयते - एवंजातीयकस्यानुनासिकस्येत्संज्ञा भवति इति । अनुपादीयमाने विशेषे सर्वप्रसङ्गः

For no *viśēṣa* that the *it-saṁjñā* reaches a particular *anunāsika* is stated here. There is chance for all to get it, since no *viśēṣa* is stated here.

किमुच्यते 'अनुपादीयमाने विशेषे' इति? कथं न नाम उपादीयते यदोपदेश इत्युच्यते? लक्षणेन ह्युपदेशः

Why is it said 'when there is *anupādāna* of *viśēṣa*?' How cannot *upādāna* be wherever there is mention of the word *upadēśa*? There is *upadēśa* even through *lakṣaṇa* (the distinguishing features).

सङ्कीर्णावुद्देशोपदेशौ । प्रत्यक्षमाख्यानमुद्देशो गुणैश्च प्रापणमुपदेशः

Uddēśa and *upadēśa* are intertwined in their connotation. *Pratyakṣam ākhyānam* may be called *uddēśa* and *guṇaiḥ prāpaṇam*, *upadēśa*.

प्रत्यक्षं तावदाख्यानमुद्देशः, तद्यथा - कश्चित् कञ्चिद् आह 'अनुवाकं मे भवान् उद्दिशतु' इति । स तस्मै आचष्टे 'इषेत्वकम् अधीष्व, शन्नोदेवीयकमधीष्व' इति । स प्रत्यक्षम् आख्यातमाह 'उद्दिष्टो मेऽनुवाकः, तमध्येष्ये' इति

Firstly *uddēśa* too may be defined as the direct indication of that which can be perceived by the senses. It may be illustrated thus:—One says to another, "Kindly make the *uddēśa* of an

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anuvāka to me." He tells him, "Read the *anuvāka* commencing with *Iṣē tvā* and read the *anuvāka* commencing with *Śannōdēvīḥ*. He having been informed thus says, "*Uddiṣṭō mē anuvākaḥ, tam adhyēṣyē* (Direct indication of the *anuvāka* has been made and I shall read it.)"

NOTE:—*Iṣē tvā* is the commencement of the *Yajurvēda Saṁhitā* and *Śannōdēvīḥ* is found in the *Atharvavēda*. At the commencement of the first *āhnika*, the mention of *śannōdēvīḥ* is made first and that of *iṣē tvā* is made after it. The order is here reversed.

गुणैश्च प्रापणमुपदेशः, तद्यथा कश्चित् कञ्चिद् आह – ग्रामान्तरं गमिष्यामि, पन्थानं मे भवान् उपदिशतु इति । स तस्मै आचष्टे – "अमुष्मिन्नवकाशे हस्तदक्षिणो ग्रहीतव्यः, अमुष्मिन् हस्तवामः" इति । स गुणैः प्राप्यमाणमाह – "उपदिष्टो मे पन्थाः" इति । एवमेतौ सङ्कीर्णावुद्देशोपदेशौ ।

Upadēśa may be taken to be the indirect reference through qualities. It may be illustrated thus:—One says to another, "I shall go to the next village. Kindly make the *upadēśa* of the way to me." He replies to him, "Turn right in this place and turn left here." He tells him who suggested the way through *guṇas*, "The way is *upadiṣṭa* to me." Hence the connotation of *uddēśa* and *upadēśa* are intertwined.

एवं तर्हि इत्कार्याभावाद् अत्रेत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति । ननु च लोप एवेत्कार्यं स्यात्
If so, since there is no *itkārya* here, *itsaṁjñā* may not set in. Oh, elision is the *it-kārya*!

अकार्यं लोपः Elision is not the desired *kārya*.

इह हि शब्दस्य द्व्यर्थ उपदेशः । कार्यार्थो वा भवत्युपदेशः श्रवणार्थो वा । कार्यं चेह नास्ति । कार्ये चासति यदि श्रवणमपि न स्यादुपदेशोऽनर्थकः स्यात् ।
The *upadēśa* of *śabda* here has two-fold purpose. It may be either for the sake of *kārya* or for the sake of *śravaṇa*. There is no *kārya* here. Its *upadēśa* will serve no purpose, if it is not intended also for *śravaṇa*, it having no *kārya*.

इदमस्तीत्कार्यम् - इह अभ्र आँ अटितः । अनन्तरलक्षणायां सत्यामित्संज्ञायाम् आदितश्च इति इट्प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत ।

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There is this *it-kārya* in *Abhra ā̃ aṭitaḥ.* When *itsaṁjñā* exists when the *kārya* to what follows comes, there will be *iṭ-pratiṣēdha* by the *sūtra Āditaś ca* (7, 2, 16).

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Yadā anēkāntā anubandhāḥ tadā anantara it-saṁjñakaḥ kāryasya viśēṣakō bhavati iti dhātōr āditvāt iṭ-pratiṣēdha-prasaṅgaḥ.*

सिद्धं तूपदेशनेऽनुनासिकत्ववचनात्

The object is achieved by enjoining *anunāsikatva* to *upadēśana.*

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

उपदेशने योऽनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that the *anunāsika* found in *upadēśana* takes the *it-saṁjñā.*

किं पुनरुपदेशनम्? What is meant by *upadēśana*?

शास्त्रम् *Śāstra.*

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते

It is achieved; but the *sūtra* has to undergo modification.

II

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* be as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् इत्संज्ञायां सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽविशेषाद् इति

Oh, it has been said that there is chance for all with reference to *itsaṁjñā* on account of the absence of *viśēṣa.*

नैष दोषः । उपदेश इति घञयं करणसाधनः

This difficulty does not arise. The *a* at the end of the word *upadēśa* is taken to be *ghañ* in the sense of *karaṇatva.*

न सिध्यति । परत्वान् ल्युट् प्राप्नोति

No, it is not achieved. The root *diś* with *upa* will take *lyuṭ,* since the *sūtra Karaṇādhikaraṇayōś ca* (3, 3, 117) is later.

न ब्रूमोऽकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् इति

We do not say that *ghañ* takes place by the *sūtra Akartari ca kārakē saṁjñāyām* (3, 3, 19).

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किं तर्हि ? By what *sūtra* then ?

हलश्च इति By the *sūtra Halaś ca* (3, 3, 121.)

तत्रापि संज्ञायाम् इति वर्तते, न चैषा संज्ञा

There too there is *anuvṛtti* to the word *saṁjñāyām* from the *sūtra Puṁsi saṁjñāyām ghaḥ prāyēṇa* (3, 3, 117) and this is no *saṁjñā*.

प्रायवचनादसंज्ञायामपि भविष्यति

The word *prāya* enables it to appear even when there is no *saṁjñā*.

प्रायवचनात् संज्ञायामेव स्याद्वा न वा, न ह्युपाधेरुपाधिर्भवति, विशेषणस्य वा विशेषणम्

On account of the word *prāya*, *ghañ* may or may not appear in *saṁjñā-śabdas* ; for it is not possible for an *upādhi* to have an *upādhi* for it or a *viśēṣaṇa* to have a *viśēṣaṇa* for it.

NOTE :—*Viśēṣaṇa* is one which is mentioned as *upasarjana* to the *vidhēya*. If another *viśēṣaṇa* is mentioned, it can be *viśēṣaṇa* only to the *vidhēya* and not to the *viśēṣaṇa*. If a word not mentioned in a *sūtra* is taken there by *anuvṛtti* and is construed as the *viśēṣaṇa* to the *vidhēya*, it is called *upādhi*. If another word also is taken by *anuvṛtti*, it can go along only with the *viśēṣya* and not with the *upādhi*. Hence both *prāyēṇa* and *saṁjñāyām* which are taken by *anuvṛtti* can qualify only *ghañ* enjoined in the *sūtra Halaś ca*.

यदि नोपाधेरुपाधिर्भवति विशेषणस्य वा विशेषणम्, कल्याणादिनामिनङ्, कुलटाया वा, इनङ्विभाषा न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is taken that an *upādhi* cannot have an *upādhi* nor a *viśēṣaṇa* a *viśēṣaṇa*, the *vibhāṣā* of *inaṅ* in the *sūtra Kulaṭāyā vā* (4, 1, 127) following the *sūtra Kalyāṇyādīnām inaṅ* (4, 1, 126) has no chance to appear.

इनङेवात्र प्रधानम् । विहितः प्रत्ययः प्रकृतश्चानुवर्तते

Inaṅ alone is *pradhāna* here. The *pratyaya* enjoined by *Strībhyō ḍhak* (4, 1, 20) and *inaṅ* which is *prakṛta* are taken by *anuvṛtti*.

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इह तर्हि वाकिनादीनां कुक् च, पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् इति कुग्विभाषा न प्राप्नोति

If so, there is no chance for the *vibhāṣā* of *kuk* in the *sūtra Putrād anyatarasyām* (4, 1, 159) following the *sūtra Vākinādīnām kuk ca* (4, 1, 158).

अत्रापि कुगेव प्रधानम् । विहितः प्रत्ययः प्रकृतश्चानुवर्तते

Kuk alone is *pradhāna* here too. The *pratyaya phiñ* enjoined by the *sūtra Udīcām vṛddhād agōtrāt* (4, 1, 157) and *kuk* which is *prakṛta* are taken by *anuvṛtti.*

एवं न चेदमकृतं भवति नोपाधेरुपाधिर्विशेषणस्य वा विशेषणम् इति । न च कश्चिद् दोषो भवति

Hence the statement that *upādhi* has no *upādhi* for it, nor *viśēṣaṇa* a *viśēṣaṇa* for it is not without foundation and there is no harm, if one adheres to it.

एवं च कृत्वा घञ् न प्राप्नोति

In that case there is no chance for *ghañ* by the *sūtra Halaś ca.*

एवं तर्हि कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इत्येवमत्र घञ् भविष्यति

If so, it gets *ghañ* from the *sūtra Kṛtya-lyuṭō bahulam* (3, 3, 113).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Bahulagrahaṇād asaṁjñāyām api ghañ bhaviṣyati ityarthaḥ.*

हलन्त्यम् (1, 3, 3)

There are *three* topics here :—(1) Chance for all *hals* to take *it-saṁjñā.* (2) The denotation and derivation of *hal.* (3) *Pratiṣēdha* of *ittva* to the final *hal* of *avyutpannaprātipadikas.*

1

हलन्त्ये सर्वप्रसङ्गः सर्वान्त्यत्वात्

On admitting the *sūtra Halantyam*; there is chance for all *hals* to take *it-saṁjñā* on account of all being followed by *avasāna.*

हलन्त्ये सर्वप्रसङ्गः । सर्वस्य हलः इत्संज्ञा प्राप्नोति

If we admit the *sūtra Halantyam,* there is chance for all to take *it-saṁjñā. It-saṁjñā* may befall all *hals.*

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किं कारणम्? Why?

सर्वान्त्यत्वात् On account of each being followed by *virāma.*

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* tells us the meaning of *antya* thus:-
Yad uccārya viramyatē tattvam antyatvam.

सर्वो हि हल् तं तमवधिं प्रत्यन्तो भवति
For all *hals* become *antya* with reference to the respective *avadhi* (in the form of *virāma*) of each.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśa* gives us two more readings:—(1) *Sarvō hi hal antyō bhavati* (2) *Sarvō hi hal taṁ taṁ avadhīkṛtya antyō bhavati.*

सिद्धं तु व्यवसितान्त्यत्वात्
The object is achieved on account of reading *vyavasitāntya* in the *sūtra.*

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

व्यवसितान्त्यत्वात्
On account of reading *vyavasitāntya* in the *sūtra.*

व्यवसितान्त्यो हल् इत्संज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्
It must be read that the *antya* of limited groups of words take *it-saṁjñā.*

के पुनर्व्यवसिताः? What are *vyavasitas*?

धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातागमादेशाः
They are *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *pratyaya*, *nipāta*, *āgama* and *ādēśa.*

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते
The object is achieved; but the *sūtra*, then, is modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* be as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् हलन्त्ये सर्वप्रसङ्गः सर्वान्त्यत्वाद् इति
Oh it has been said "*Halantyē sarvaprasaṅgaḥ sarvāntyatvāt.*"

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नैष दोषः । आहायम् - हलन्त्यमित्संज्ञं भवतीति । सर्वश्च हल् तं तमवधिं प्रत्यन्तो भवति । तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते - साधीयो योऽन्त्यः इति

This difficulty does not arise. He says, "*Halantyam it-saṁjñam bhavati.*" All *hals* become *antya* with reference to the respective *avadhi* of each. It may be understood that it refers to the prominent among them, so that *antya* is taken to mean *sādhīyaḥ antyaḥ*.

कश्च साधीयः ? Which is *sādhīyaḥ* ?

व्यवसितानां योऽन्त्यः That which is *antya* to *vyavasitas*.

अथ वा सापेक्षोऽयं निर्देशः क्रियते । न चान्यत् किञ्चिद् अपेक्ष्यमस्ति, तेन व्यवसितानेवापेक्षिष्यामहे ।

Or the mention of *antya* needs another to give a complete sense. Nothing is needed other than *vyavasitas* and hence we take them here.

II

लकारस्यानुबन्धाज्ञापितत्वाद्धल्ग्रहणाप्रसिद्धिः

Difficulty in knowing the denotation of *hal* on account of *l* not being made known to be *it*.

लकारस्यानुबन्धत्वेन अज्ञापितत्वात् हल्ग्रहणस्याप्रसिद्धिः । हलन्त्यं इत्संज्ञं भवतीत्युच्यते । लकारस्यैव तावदित्संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति ।

Since *l* has not been made known to be *anubandha*, it is not possible to determine what the word *hal* denotes. It is said that *antyam hal* is *it*; but firstly *it-saṁjñā* cannot reach *lakāra*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Itaretarāśryam manyatē.... Pratyāhārāśrayā it-saṁjñā, tadāśrayaś ca pratyāhāraḥ.*

सिद्धं तु लकारनिर्देशात्

The object is achieved by reading *lakāra*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

लकारनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः *Lakāra* is to be read.

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हलन्त्यमित्संज्ञं भवति, लकारश्च इति वक्तव्यम्

The final *hal* takes *itsaṁjña* and it must be read that *lakāra* too takes it.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* feels that the word *hal* in the *sūtra* itself is a *samāhāradvandva* of *hal* and *l*, where *l* is dropped by *Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ*. In that case *kartavyaḥ* found in the *bhāṣya* should be taken in the sense of *vyākhyēyaḥ*. But *Nāgēśa* differs from him. He says that *kartavyaḥ* should be taken in the usual sense, since *l* cannot be dropped by the *sūtra Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ*, since the following two *vārttikas* read under that *sūtra*:—(1) *Saṁyōgāntalōpē yaṇaḥ pratiṣēdhaḥ* (2) *Na vā jhalō lōpāt* stand against it.

एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा Or by taking it as *ēkaśēṣa*.

अथ वा एकशेषनिर्देशोऽयम् - हल् च हल् च हल्, हलन्त्यम् इत्संज्ञं भवति इति

Or this may be taken as an *ēkaśēṣa* thus: *hal ca hal ca hal*. *Halantya* gets *it-saṁjñā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that one *hal* mentioned above is *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa* meaning *hasya l* and the other is *pratyāhāra*. *Nāgēśa* says that, in that case, the *hal* which is *tatpuruṣa* cannot have anything to do with the word *antya*, though it should go with both members of the *dvandva* compound and hence considers it as the *sūtra Hal*. Further he says that *ēkaśēṣa* connotes *tantratva* by *lakṣaṇā*.

अथ वा लकारस्यैवेदं गुणभूतस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र 'उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्' इति इत्संज्ञा भविष्यति ।

Or this (*lakara*) stands for *l̥* which is used as an *anubandha* (as in *gaml̥*). It gets *it-saṁjñā* by the *sūtra Upadēśēsj-anunāsika it.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that unless *ac-pratyāhāra* is formed by declaring *c* of *Āiāuc* as *it*, *l̥* cannot take *it-saṁjñā* by the *sūtra Upadēśēsj-anunāsika it.* Hence he feels that the mention of *l̥ ditaḥ* in the *sūtra Puṣādi-l̥dyutādi-ditaḥ parasmāipadēṣu* (3, 1, 55) may suggest that *l̥* may have *it-kārya*.

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अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति - भवति लकारस्य इत्संज्ञा इति, यदयं णलं लितं करोति

Or the procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that *l* gets *it-saṁjñā*, since he reads *ṇal* (in the *sūtra Parasmāipadānām ṇal*....(3, 4, 82) with *l* as *it*.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśa* feels that the arguments based on the *jñāpaka* of *lditaḥ* and *ṇal* are flimsy and *ēkaśēṣa-nirdēśād vā* is the fitting answer.

प्रातिपदिकप्रतिषेधोऽकृत्तद्धिते

(The need for) the *pratiṣēdha* of the *prātipadika* not ending in *kṛtpratyaya* or *taddhitapratyaya*.

अकृत्तद्धितान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - उदश्वित् शकृत् इति ।

There is need to mention the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to the *prātipadika* which does not end in *kṛtpratyaya* or *taddhita-pratyaya* to secure the forms *udaśvit* and *śakṛt*.

NOTE :—The need for this *vārttika* arises only when the *avyutpannaprātipadikas* are read as referred to at the end of the first *āhnika*.

अकृत्तद्धितान्तस्येति किमर्थम् ?

Why should *akṛt-taddhitāntasya* be read ?

कुम्भकारः नगरकारः औपगवः कापटव इति

(So that it may not operate in) *kumbhakāraḥ*, *nagarakāraḥ*, *āupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṭavaḥ*.

इदर्थाभावात् सिद्धम्

It is accomplished on account of the absence of *it-kārya*.

इत्कार्याभावाद् अत्र इत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति

The *it-saṁjñā* will not set in here, since there is no *it-kārya*.

इदमस्ति इत्कार्यम् - तित्स्वरितम् इति स्वरितत्वं यथा स्यात्

There is this *it-kārya*, that *svaritatva* may appear by the *sūtra Tit svaritam* (6, 1, 185).

नैतदस्ति । प्रत्ययग्रहणं तत्र चोदयिष्यति

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No, it cannot be. It is the *pratyaya* ending in *t* that brings out the *kārya* there.

इह तर्हि राजा तक्षा ञ्नितीत्याद्युदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात्

If so, *ādyudāttatva* may appear by the *sūtra Ñnityādir nityam*, (6, 1, 197) in *rājā* and *takṣā*.

ञ्नितीत्युच्यते, तत्र व्यपवर्गाभावान्न भविष्यति

Ñniti is read in the *sūtra* and since it is not separated from the *prātipadika*, the *sūtra* does not operate there.

इदं तर्हि स्वर्, उपोत्तमं रिति इत्येष स्वरो यथा स्यात्

If so, the last but one in *svar* takes *udātta* by the *sūtra Upōttamam riti* (6, 1, 217).

स्वरितकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति न्यङ्स्वरौ स्वरितौ इति

It does not appear on account of the force of the injunction of *svaritatva* by *Nyaṅsvarāu svaritāu* (*Phiṭ* 74).

इह तर्हि अन्तर् If so, it will operate in *antar?*

उत्तमशब्दस्त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्तते । न चात्र त्रिप्रभृतयः सन्ति

The word *uttama* has its application in words having three syllables and more and three syllables and more are not found here.

इह तर्हि सनुतर् उपोत्तमं रिति इत्येष स्वरो यथा स्यात्

If so, the last but one in *sanutar* may be *udātta* by the *sūtra Upōttamam riti*.

अन्तोदात्तनिपातनं करिष्यते । स निपातनस्वरो रित्स्वरस्य बाधको भविष्यति

It is enjoined that their final syllable is *udātta* and it will set at naught the *rit-svara*.

एतच्चात्र युक्तम् – यदित्कार्याभावाद् इत्संज्ञा न स्यात् । यत्रेत्कार्यं भविष्यति तत्रेत्संज्ञा, तद्यथा आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् इति

This is but proper here :-If there is no purpose by taking *it-saṁjñā*, let there be no *it-saṁjñā*. If there is purpose, as in the *sūtra Āgastyakāuṇḍinyayōr agastikuṇḍinac*, let there be *itsaṁjñā*.

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न विभक्तौ तुस्माः (1, 3, 4)

विभक्तौ तवर्गप्रतिषेधोऽतद्धिते

Prohibition of *tavarga* with reference to *vibhakti* which is *non-taddhita*.

विभक्तौ तवर्गप्रतिषेधोऽतद्धित इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् किमोत् क्व प्रेप्सन् दीव्यसे, क्वार्द्धमासा इति

There is need for *tavarga-pratiṣēdha* to be mentioned only with reference to *vibhakti* that is *non-taddhita*, so that it may not operate here in the *sūtra Kimōst* (5, 3, 12), from which *kva* [1] in *kva prēpsan dīvyasē* and *kvārddhamāsāḥ* is evolved.

स तर्हि वक्तव्यः It should, then, be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न विभक्तौ तद्धिते प्रतिषेधो भवतीति, यदयम् 'इदमस्थमुः' इति मकारस्येत्संज्ञापरित्राणार्थम् उकारमनुबन्धं करोति ।

No, it need not be mentioned. The procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that the *pratiṣēdha* does not apply to *taddhita-vibhakti*, since he reads the *anubandha u* in *thamu* in the *sūtra Idamas thamuḥ* (5, 3, 24) to prevent *m* from getting the *it-saṁjñā*.

यद्येतज् ज्ञाप्यते इदानीम् इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति

If it is suggested that the *pratiṣēdha* does not apply to *taddhita-vibhakti*, *it-samjñā* has a chance to appear (in *dānīm*) of *idānīm*.

इत्कार्याभावाद् अत्र इत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति

It-saṁjñā does not set in, since it serves no purpose here.

इदमस्तीत्कार्यं मिदचोन्त्यात्परः इत्यचामन्त्यात् परो यथा स्यात्

There is this *itkārya* that the *mit* appears after the final vowel in the word by the *sūtra Mid acōntyāt paraḥ* (1, 1, 47).

इश्भावे कृते नास्ति विशेषः, मिदचोन्त्यात्पर इति वा, परत्वे प्रत्ययः परः इति वा

1. *Kva* is formed from *kim* by the operation of the *śūtras Kimōt* (5, 3, 12) and *Kvāti* (7, 2, 105).

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After *idaṁ* is changed to *i* (by the *sūtra Idama iś* 5, 3, 3) before *dānīm* is added to it, there is no difference in effect whether *Mid acóntyāt paraḥ* operates or *Pratyayaḥ paraś ca.*

स एव तावदिश्भावो न प्राप्नोति

There is absolutely no chance for *iś-bhāva* itself to appear there.

किं कारणम्? Why?

प्राग्दिशः प्रत्ययेषु इत्युच्यते

It is said that (in the *sūtra Prāg diśō vibhaktiḥ* 5, 3, 1) the *pratyayas* preceding *diś* are taken as *vibhakti.*

कः पुनरर्हति इश्भावं प्राग्दिशः प्रत्ययेषु वक्तुम्?

Who is competent to say that *iśbhāva* sets in only before the *pratyayas* preceding the word *dik*?

किं तर्हि? What then?

प्राग्दिशोऽर्थेष्विश्भावः किंसर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यादिभ्यः प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः

Iś-bhāva sets in before the meanings of the *pratyayas* preceding the word *dik* and the *pratyaya* is after *kim, sarvanāman* and *bahu* which are not *dvyādi.*

एवं तर्हि तदोप्ययं वक्तव्यः। तदश्च मिदचोन्त्यात्परत्वेन न सिध्यति

If so, the same has to be said with reference to *tad.* Otherwise the desired form from *tad* cannot be achieved by the operation of *Mid-acōntyāt-paraḥ.*

ननु चालाप्यत्वे कृते नास्ति विशेषः, मिदचोन्त्यात्परः इति वा परत्वे प्रत्ययः पर इति वा।

Oh! there is no difference even here whether *Midacōntyāt paraḥ* operates or *Pratyayaḥ paraś ca*, if *tad* has been changed to *ta* (by the *sūtra Tyadādīnām aḥ* (7, 2, 102).

तद्धि अत्वं न प्राप्नोति If so, *atva* does not set in.

किं कारणम्? Why?

विभक्तावित्युच्यते

It is said that it sets in only when *vibhakti* follows.

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एवं तर्हि यकारान्तो दानीं करिष्यते

If so, *dānīm* is taken to end in *y*.

किं यकारो न श्रूयते ? Why is not *yakāra* heard ?

लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो यकारः

Yakāra has been elided, though it was originally pronounced.

चुटू (1, 3, 7)

चुञ्चुप्चणपोश्चकारप्रतिषेधः

Need for prohibiting *ittva* to *c* of *cuñcup* and *caṇap* [1].

चुञ्चुप्चणपोश्चकारस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, केशचञ्चुः केशचणः

There is need to prohibit *ittva* to the initial *c* of *cuñcup* and *caṇap*, so that the words *kēśacañcuḥ* and *kēśacaṇaḥ* may be formed.

इदर्थाभावात्सिद्धम् It is accomplished on account of *idarthābhāva*.

इत्कार्याभावाद् अत्रेत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति

It-saṁjñā does not set in, since no purpose is served from it.

इदमस्तीत्कार्यम् । "चितः" अन्त उदात्तो भवतीति अन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात् ।

There is this *it-kārya*. It may have its final syllable *udātta* by the *sūtra Citaḥ* (6, 1, 163) which enjoins that the final syllable of a *pratyaya* which is *cit* is *udātta*.

पित्करणमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ?

What is, then, the use of reading *p* as *it*?

पित्करणं किमर्थमिति चेत्पर्यायार्थम्

Reading *p* as *it* is to suggest that they are synonyms.

पित्करणं किमर्थमिति चेत्पर्यायार्थम्

If it is asked why *p* is read as *it*, it is to suggest that *cuñcup* and *caṇap* are synonymous.

एवं तर्हि यकारादी चुञ्चुप्चणपौ

If so, *cuñcup* and *caṇap* have *yakāra* for their initial letter.

1. These two are *taddhitapratyayas* enjoined in the *sūtra Tēna vittaś cuñcup-caṇapāu* (5, 2, 26).

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किं यकारो न श्रूयते?

How is it that *yakāra* is not pronounced?

लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो यकारः *Yakāra* is said to have been dropped.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* explains the word *lupta-nirdiṣṭa* in two ways:—1. *Pūrvam nirdiṣṭaḥ paścāt luptaḥ* and 2. *Luptōsyam iti pratijñātaḥ*.

इर उपसङ्ख्यानम् Supplementing *ir* to take *it-tva*.

इर उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - रुधिर्, अरुधत् अरौत्सीत्

There is need to supplement that *ir* takes *it-saṁjñā*, so that the forms *arudhat* and *arāutsīt* may be formed from *rudhir*.

NOTE :—Since *ir* consists of a vowel and a consonant and since *it-tva* is enjoined either to a vowel or a consonant, there is need for this.

अवयवग्रहणात्सिद्धम्

It is accomplished on account of the parts taking it.

रेफस्यात्र हलन्त्यम् इति भविष्यति, इकारस्य उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् इति

R takes *it-saṁjñā* by the *sūtra Halantyam* (1, 3, 3) and *i* by the *sūtra Upadēśēsj anunāsika it* (1, 3, 2)

अवयवग्रहणादिति चेद् इदिद्विधिप्रसङ्गः

If it is conceded through *avayavagrahaṇa*, there is chance for the *vidhi* enjoined to that which is *idit* to operate.

अवयवग्रहणादिति चेद् इदिद्विधिरपि प्राप्नोति । भेत्ता, छेत्ता इदितो नुम् धातोः इति नुम् प्राप्नोति

If it is said that the object is accomplished since the parts take it, there is chance for the rules pertaining to those which are *idit* to operate, so that *num* may enter into *bhēttā* and *chēttā* by the *sūtra Iditō num dhātōḥ* (7, 1, 58).

यदि पुनरयमिदिद्विधिः कुम्भीधान्यन्यायेन विज्ञायेत । तद्यथा कुम्भीधान्यः श्रोत्रिय इत्युच्यते - यस्य कुम्भ्यामेव धान्यं स कुम्भीधान्यः; यस्य पुनः कुम्भ्यां चान्यत्र च धान्यं नासौ कुम्भीधान्यः ।

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Suppose the *vidhi* pertaining to *idit* is taken under *kumbhīdhānyanyāya.* It may be explained thus:-It is said this *śrōtriya* (Brahman *Vēdic* scholar) is *kumbhīdhānya.* He who has grain only in a jar goes by that name and not one who has grain both in a jar and elsewhere.

नायमिदिद्विधिः कुम्भीधान्यन्यायेन शक्यो विज्ञातुम् । इह हि दोषः स्याद् - टुनदि नन्दथुः इति

This *idid-vidhi* cannot be taken under the *kumbhīdhānyanyāya* ; for, in that case, there will be difficulty in the formation of the word *nandathuḥ* from the root *nad* read as *ṭunadi.*

एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते - इकार इत् अस्य सोऽयम् इदित्; तस्य इदित इति

If so, the word *iditaḥ* is not taken as the genetive singular of *idit* having its derivation *ikāraḥ it yasya saḥ.*

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

इकार एवेत् इदित् इदिदन्तस्य इति

Iditaḥ is taken to mean *ididantasya* where *idit*, being a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is derived thus:-*ikāra ēva it.*

अथ वा ऋृकारस्यैव इदामित्त्वभूतस्य ग्रहणम् । तस्य च उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् इतीत्संज्ञा भविष्यति ।

Or this (*ir* in *bhidir* etc) may be taken to be the modified form of *ṝ* which has taken *i* before it (by the *sūtra Ṝta iddhātōḥ* (7, 1, 100) and *ṝ* takes *it-saṁjñā* by the *sūtra Upadēśē aj anunāsika it.*

अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नैवंजातीयकानामिदिद्विधिर्भवति इति; यदयमिरितः कांश्चिन्नुमनुषक्तान् पठति उबुन्दिर् निशामने, स्कन्दिर् गतिशोषणयोः ।

Or the procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that *idid-vidhi* does not operate in such cases as this, since he reads some roots having *ir* as *it* with *num*; as *ubundir* (to see) and *skandir* (to go, to dry).

अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति इर्शब्दस्येत्संज्ञा भवति इति, यदयम् इरितो वा इत्याह

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Or the procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that *ir* may take *it-saṁjñā*, since he himself reads the *sūtra Iritō vā* (3, 1, 57.)

अथ वा अन्त इति वर्तते Or there is *anuvṛtti* for the word *antē*.

NOTE :—There is the word *antē* in the *sūtra Gōḥ pādāntē* (7, 1, 57) and it is taken into the next *sūtra Iditō num dhātōḥ* (7, 1, 58), so that *numāgama* comes only with reference to roots which have *i* as *it* only as their final member. Here *i* in *ir* is not the final member.

तस्य लोपः (1, 3, 9)

Three topics are here dealt with :–(1) What is the need for the word *tasya* in the *sūtra?* (2) Is there any need to make *upasaṅkhyāna* of some and *pratiṣēdha* of others? (3) Are *anubandhas ēkānta* or *anēkānta?*

I

तस्यग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the reading of *tasya?*

इत्संज्ञकः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते

The antecent of the stem of *tasya* is *it-saṁjñaka*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । प्रकृतम् इद् इति वर्तते

This is not the *prayōjana*. The word *it* near at hand is taken here by *anuvṛtti*.

क प्रकृतम्? What is the *sūtra* where it is near at hand ?

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् The *sūtra Upadēśēsj anunāsika it.*

तद्वै प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टेन चेहार्थः

It is mentioned there in the first case and we want the sixth case here.

अर्थाद्विभक्तिपरिणामो भविष्यति

The case may be changed to suit the need.

तद्यथा - उच्चानि देवदत्तस्य गृहाणि, आमन्त्रयस्व (एनम्) देवदत्तमिति गम्यते । देवदत्तस्य गावोऽश्वा हिरण्यं च, आढ्यो वैधेयः, देवदत्त इति गम्यते । पुरस्तात् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टं सदर्थात् द्वितीयानिर्दिष्टं प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं च भवति । एवमिहापि पुरस्तात् प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं सद् अर्थात् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टं भविष्यति ।

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This may be illustrated thus :–High are the houses of *Dēvadatta* and call aloud; *Dēvadattam* is supplied there. There are cows, horses and gold with *Dēvadatta* and the fool is rich; *Dēvadatta* is supplied there. That which is mentioned in the sixth case before, is taken in the second and first cases so as to suit the context. So also, that which is mentioned in the first case before, may be changed to sixth case here.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - ये अनेकाल इत्संज्ञाः तेषां लोपः सर्वादेशो यथा स्यात् ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana*, that *lōpa* may be the *sarvādēśa* of the *it* which consists of more than one letter.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि वै तस्यग्रहणे कथमिव लोपः सर्वादेशो लभ्यः ?

How is it taken that *lōpa* may be the *sarvādēśa* of the *it* which is *anēkāl*, even if the word *tasya* is read?

लभ्य इत्याह 'It can be secured', says he.

कुतः ? How?

वचनप्रामाण्यात् - तस्यग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

On the authority of the *vacana*—On the capacity of the mention of the word *tasya*.

II

इतो लोपे णल्क्त्वानिष्ठास्वुपसङ्ख्यानमित्प्रतिषेधात्

Need to bring *ṇal, ktvā* and *niṣṭhā pratyayas* within the operation of *Itō lōpaḥ*, on account of *it-pratiṣēdha* with reference to them.

इतो लोपे णल् - क्त्वा - निष्ठासु उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । णल् - अहं पपच ; क्त्वा - देवित्वा सेवित्वा ; निष्ठा - शयितः शयितवान्

There is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *ṇal, ktvā* and *niṣṭhā* within the range of *Itō lōpaḥ*, so that *papaca* (1st pers.), *dēvitvā sēvitvā* and *śayitaḥ śayitvān* may be secured.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why is it not achieved?

इत्प्रतिषेधात् On account of *it-pratiṣēdha*.

प्रतिषिध्यतेऽत्र इत्संज्ञा । णलुत्तमो णिद्वा भवति ; क्त्वा सेण्न किद्भवति ; निष्ठा सेण्न किद्भवतीति

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The *it-saṁjñā* is set at naught thus :–The *sūtra Ṇal uttamō vā* (7, 1, 91) optionally sets at naught the *ṇitva* of *ṇal* in the first person; the *sūtra Pūṅaḥ ktvā ca* (1, 2, 22) optionally sets at naught the *kitva* of *ktvā*; and the *sūtra Niṣṭhā śiṅ-svidi-midi-kṣvidi-dhṛṣaḥ* (1, 2, 19) sets at naught the *kitva* of *niṣṭhā*.

सिद्धं तु णलादीनां ग्रहणप्रतिषेधात्

It is achieved on account of the *pratiṣēdha* of the *kāryas* of *ṇal* etc.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

णलादीनां ग्रहणानि प्रतिषिध्यन्ते । णलुत्तमो वा णिद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते, क्त्वा सेण्न किद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते । निष्ठा सेण्न किद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यत इति ।

The *kāryas* of *ṇal* etc. are set at naught here :–*Ṇal-uttamō vā ṇid-grahaṇēna gṛhyatē; Ktvā sēṇ-na kid-grahaṇēna gṛhyatē: Niṣṭhā sēṇna kidgrahaṇēna gṛhyatē.*

निर्दिष्टलोपाद्वा Or by the *lōpa* to that which is expressed.

निर्दिष्टलोपाद्वा सिद्धमेतत् - अथ वा निर्दिष्टस्य अयं लोपः क्रियते, तस्मात् सिद्धमेतत्

This is achieved on account of the *lōpa* to *nirdiṣṭa* :-Or this elision is to that which is pronounced and hence the object is achieved.

तत्र तुस्मानां प्रतिषेधः

Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *tavarga*, *s* and *m* there.

तत्र तुस्मानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - तस्मात् तस्मिन् यस्मात् यस्मिन् वृक्षाः प्लक्षाः अचिनवम् असुनवम् अकरवम्

There is the need to prohibit the operation of this rule with reference to *tu*, *s* and *m*, as in *tasmāt tasmin*, *yasmāt yasmin*, *vṛkṣāḥ plakṣāḥ*, *acinavam*, *asunavam*, *akaravam*.

न वोच्चारणसामर्थ्यात्

No, it need not be, on account of the *sāmarthya* of *uccāraṇa*.

न वा वक्तव्यः It need not be said.

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किं कारणम् ? Why?

उच्चारणसामर्थ्यादत्र लोपो न भविष्यति

Elision will not take place here on account of the capacity of their *uccāraṇa*.

अनुबन्धलोपे भावाभावयोर्विप्रतिषेधादप्रसिद्धिः

Aprāmāṇya of the *śāstra* on account of the conflict caused by some enjoining the elision of *anubandha* and some, the retention of the same.

अनुबन्धलोपे भावाभावयोर्विरोधादप्रसिद्धिः । न ज्ञायते केनाभिप्रायेण प्रसजति, केन निवृत्तिं करोति इति

There is *aprāmāṇya* on account of the conflict caused by some *sūtras* enjoining the elision of the *anubandha* and some enjoining its retention.

सिद्धं त्वपवादन्यायेन

It is achieved by taking recourse to *apavādanyāya*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम् ? How?

अपवादन्यायेन On adopting the *apavāda-nyāya*.

किं पुनरिह तथा यथोत्सर्गापवादौ ?

What is here which stands in the same relation as *utsarga* and *apavāda*?

भावो हि कार्यार्थोऽनन्यार्थो लोपः

The presence of *anubandha* is to effect some *kārya* and its elision is intended that one other than the desired *kārya* may not set in.

कार्यं करिष्यामि इत्यनुबन्ध आसज्यते, कार्यादन्यद् मा भूदिति लोपः

Anubandha is enjoined that I may do some *kārya* and *lōpa* is enjoined that nothing other than the desired *kārya* may set in.

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III

अथ यस्यानुबन्ध आसज्यते, किं स तस्यैकान्तो भवति आहोस्विदनेकान्तः?

Does the *anubandha* which is attached to one become its part (*avayava*) or not?

एकान्तस्तत्रोपलब्धेः It is its part on account of its being seen there.

एकान्त इत्याह "It is its part", says he.

कुतः? On what basis?

तत्रोपलब्धेः - तत्रस्थो ह्यसावुपलभ्यते। तद्यथा वृक्षस्था शाखा वृक्षैकान्तोपलभ्यते।

Since it is found there—For it is seen forming a part of it. The analogy is this:—The branches which are in the tree are considered to be its part.

तत्रासरूपसर्वादेशदाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्त्वनिर्देशोऽनाकारान्तत्वात्

In *ēkānta-pakṣa* there will be difficulty in *asarūpa-vidhi* and *sarvādēśa-vidhi* and there should be separate mention in *dāp-pratiṣēdha* on account of its not being *ākārānta*.

NOTE:—The expression *asarūpa-sarvādēśa* should be taken as a separate word with the seventh case suffix being dropped.

तत्रासरूपविधौ दोषो भवति - कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति; कविषये अणपि प्राप्नोति

In the case of *ēkānta-pakṣa* difficulty arises in the *vidhis* where different *anubandhas* are found. For instance, there is the *sāmānya-sūtra Karmaṇyaṇ* and there is the *viśēṣa-sūtra Ātō-nupasargē kaḥ*; when the latter operates, the *it ṇ* also may appear.

सर्वादेशे च दोषो भवति - दिव औत् - औत् सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति।

(In the case of *ēkānta-pakṣa*) there will be difficulty in *sarvādēśa* also. For instance from the *sūtra Diva āut*, *āut* may be taken as *sarvādēśa*.

दाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्त्वनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः - अदाब्दैपौ इति वक्तव्यम्

In the *sūtra Dādhāghvadāp* where there is *pratiṣēdha* for *dāp*, there should be separate mention (of *dāip*). It should be stated *Adābdāipāu*.

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किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why is it not secured ?

अनाकारान्तत्वात् Since it does not end in *ākāra*.

ननु चात्त्वे कृते भविष्यति

Oh, it ends in *ā* after the operation of the rule *Ādēca upadēśēs-śiti* (6, 1, 45).

तद्धि आत्त्वं न प्राप्नोति There is no chance for the *āttva*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अनेजन्तत्वात्

Since it (*dāip*) does not end in *ēc*, (but it ends in *p*).

अस्तु तर्हि अनेकान्तः Let it not be its part then.

अनेकान्ते वृत्तिविशेषः

If it is *anēkānta*, non-accomplishment of *samāsa*.

यद्यनेकान्तो वृत्तिविशेषो न सिद्ध्यति । क्ङिति ङितीति कार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति । किं हि स तस्येद्भवति येनेत्कृतं स्यात् ?

If it does not form its part, *samāsa* is not accomplished. The *kāryas* when *k* is *it* or *ṇ* is *it* do not happen. To whom will the *it* belong, so that its *kārya* may go to it ?

एवं तर्ह्यनन्तरः If so, let it be considered to follow it.

अनन्तर इति चेत् पूर्वोत्तरयोरित्कृतप्रसङ्गः

If it is considered to be *anantara*, the *it-kārya* may be to both that precedes and that follows.

अनन्तर इति चेत पूर्वोत्तरयोरित्कृतं प्राप्नोति - वुञ्छण्

If it is *anantara*, the *it-kārya* may be to both that precedes and that follows, as in *vuñchaṇ*.

सिद्धं तु व्यवासितपाठात्

It is accomplished by reading them without *saṁhitā*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

व्यवसितपाठः कर्तव्यः वुञ् छण्

They must be read not together, as in *vuñ chaṇ*...(4, 2, 80)

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स चावश्यं व्यवसितपाठः कर्तव्यः

The *vyavasitapāṭha* must needs be done.

इतरथा ह्येकान्तेऽपि सन्देहः

If *vyavasitapāṭha* is not done, there may arise doubt even in *ēkānta-pakṣa*.

अक्रियमाणे व्यवसितपाठे एकान्तेऽपि सन्देहः स्यात् । तत्र न ज्ञायते किमयं पूर्वस्य भवत्याहोस्वित्परस्येति

If they are not read with *vicchēda*, there will be chance for doubt even when *anubandhas* are taken as a part of that with which it is associated. It is not certain to decide there whether it forms a part of that which precedes or of that which follows.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति, सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । पूर्वस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः ।

Doubt alone arise there. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this–that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *śāstra* to be neglected. We comment that it forms a part of what precedes.

वृत्ताद्वा Or from usage.

वृत्ताद्वा पुनः सिद्धमेतत् । वृद्धिमन्तमाद्युदात्तं दृष्ट्वा ञिदिति व्यवसेयम् । अन्तोदात्तं दृष्ट्वा किदिति ।

Or this is evidently decided from usage. On seeing the initial syllable taking *vṛddhi* and *udātta* tone, it should be decided that it is *ñit*. On seeing the final syllable taking *udātta*, it should be decided that it is *kit*.

युक्तं पुनर्यद्वृत्तनिमित्तको नामानुबन्धः स्यात्, नानुबन्धनिमित्तकेन नाम वृत्तेन भवितव्यम् ।

It is but right to take that the use of *anubandha* depends upon usage and not that the usage depends upon the *anubandha* used.

वृत्तनिमित्तक एवानुबन्धः । वृत्तज्ञो ह्याचार्योऽनुबन्धानासजति

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The use of *anubandha* is certainly decided from usage. For *Ācārya* makes use of *anubandhas* only from his knowledge of the usage.

उभयमिदम् अनुबन्धेषूक्तमेकान्ता अनेकान्ता इति । किमत्र न्याय्यम् ?

Both sides–*ēkāntatva* and *anēkāntatva* have been explained with reference to *anubandhas*. Of the two which is to be adopted?

एकान्ता इत्येव न्याय्यम्

It is but right to take them only as *ēkāntas*.

कुत एतत्? On what basis is this decision arrived at?

अत्र हि हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टः; यच्च नाम सहेतुकं तद् न्याय्यम्

For, the reason for adopting it is here given; that which is supported with a *hētu* is *nyāyya*.

ननु चोक्तं तत्रासरूपसर्वादेशदाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्त्वनिर्देशोऽनाकारान्तत्वाद् इति ।

Oh the following defect was raised there:–*Tatra asarūpa-sarvādēśa-dāp-pratiṣēdhē pṛthaktva-nirdēśōsanākārāntatvāt.*

असरूपविधौ तावन्न दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यं भवति इति यदयं ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा इति विभाषां शास्ति ।

There is no harm with reference to *asarūpavidhi*. The procedure of *Ācārya*, in enjoining *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Dadāti-dadhātyōr vibhāṣā* (3, 1, 139) suggests that *anubandhas* do not bring in *asārūpya*.

यदप्युक्तं सर्वादेश इति, अत्राप्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं भवति इति, यदयं शित्सर्वस्य इत्याह

The difficulty raised with reference to *sarvādēśa* too cannot stand, since the mention of *śit sarvasya* in the *sūtra Anēkāl śit sarvasya* (1, 1, 55) by *Acārya* suggests that *auubandhas* do not subscribe to *anēkāltva*.

यदप्युक्तं दाप्प्रतिषेधे पृथक्त्वनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः इति, न कर्तव्यः; आचार्य-प्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानुबन्धकृतम् अनेजन्तत्वं भवतीति, यदयम् उदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे इति मेङः सानुबन्धकस्य आत्वभूतस्य ग्रहणं करोति

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Even the statement that *dāip* should be separately mentioned need not be made. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *anubandhas* do not stand against *ējantatva,* since he reads *māṅaḥ* in place of *mēṅaḥ* in the *sūtra Udīcām māṅō vyatīhārē* (3, 4, 19).

यथासङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् (1, 3, 10)

There are *three* topics here :-(1) What are the *sūtras* which serve as examples ? (2) What is the need for this *sūtra ?* (3) Is *saṅkhyātānudēśa* based on *śabdasāṁya* or *arthasāṁya ?*

I

किमुदाहरणम् ? Which serves as the example ?

इको यणचि, दध्यत्र मध्वत्र

The *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci,* by which the forms *dadhyatra* and *madhvatra* are formed, is the example.

नैतदस्ति । स्थानेन्तरतमेनाप्येतत् सिद्धम्

It is not so. It results even from the operation of the *sūtra Sthānēsntaratamaḥ* (1, 1, 50).

कुत आन्तर्यम् ? What is the basis of their *āntarya ?*

तालुस्थानस्य तालुस्थान ओष्ठस्थानस्यौष्ठस्थानो भविष्यति

The palatal (consonant) replaces the palatal (vowel) and the labial (consonant) [1] replaces the labial (vowel).

इदं तर्हि तस्थस्थमिपां तांतंतामः इति

This, then, the *sūtra Tas-thas-tha-mipām tāṁ-taṁ-ta-amaḥ* (3, 4, 101) serves as an example.

ननु चैतदपि स्थानेऽन्तरतमेनैव सिद्धम्

Oh, this too results from the operation of the *sūtra Sthānēs-ntaratamaḥ* (1, 1, 50).

कुत आन्तर्यम् ? What is the basis of their *āntarya ?*

1. Even though *v* is *labio-dental,* it replaces the labial vowel *u,* since there is no labial semi-vowel in Sanskrit Language corresponding to the English *w.*

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एकार्थस्यैकार्थो द्व्यर्थस्य द्व्यर्थो बह्वर्थस्य बह्वर्थो भविष्यति इति

The singular suffix will have *āntarya* with the singular one, the dual with the dual and the plural with the plural.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Nityānām śabdānām prayōgād arthakṛtam āntaryam astyēva iti bhāvaḥ.*

इदं तर्हि तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यक इति

This, then, the *sūtra Tūdī-śalātura-varmatī-kūcavārāḍ ḍhak-chaṇ-ḍhañ-yakaḥ* (4, 3, 94) serves as an example.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Pāṭhakramēṇāiva sambandhō bhaviṣyati iti bhāvaḥ.*

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What for is this *sūtra* read ?

संज्ञासमासनिर्देशात्सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽनुदेशस्य, तत्र यथासङ्ख्यवचनं नियमार्थम्

The *sūtra Yathāsaṅkhyam*....is for the sake of *niyama*, since, otherwise, all in *anudēśa* may replace all among *uddēśya* on account of their being mentioned through *saṁjñā* or *samāsa.*

संज्ञया समासैश्च निर्देशाः क्रियन्ते । संज्ञया तावत् - परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः इति । समासैः - तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः इति । संज्ञासमासनिर्देशात् - एतस्मात् कारणात्, सर्वप्रसङ्गः - सर्वस्य उद्देशस्य सर्वोऽनुदेशः प्राप्नोति । इष्यते च समसङ्ख्यं यथा स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति इति तत्र यथासङ्ख्यवचनं नियमार्थम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

Sūtras are read making use of *saṁjñā* and *samāsas.* The *sūtra Parasmāipadānām ṇal-atus-us-thal-athus-a-ṇal-va-māḥ* (3, 4, 82) is, firstly, through *saṁjñā* and the *sūtra Tūdī-śalātura-varmatī-kūcavārāḍ ḍhak-chaṇ-ḍhañ-yakaḥ* (4, 3, 94) is through *samāsas.* On account of this reason (i.e.) mention through *saṁjñā* and *samāsa*, there is room for *sarva-prasaṅga* (i.e.) all *anudēśas* may replace all *uddēśas.* It is desired they should replace only those which hold the same place in their order. This cannot be accomplished without special effort. Hence is this *sūtra yathāsaṅkhyam*....read for the sake of *niyama.* It is intended for it.

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किं पुनः कारणं संज्ञया च समासैश्च निर्देशाः क्रियन्ते ?

Why should mention be made through *sāṁjñā* and *samāsas ?*

संज्ञासमासनिर्देशः पृथग्विभक्तिसंज्ञ्यनुच्चारणार्थः

Mention through *saṁjñā* and *samāsa* is to avoid the repetition of case-suffixes and *saṁjñins*.

संज्ञया च समासैश्च निर्देशाः क्रियन्ते पृथग् विभक्तीः संज्ञिनश्च मोच्चीचरम् इति *Sūtras* are read making use of *saṁjñā* and *samāsas* to avoid repetition of case-suffixes and *saṁjñins.*

प्रकरणे च सर्वसम्प्रत्ययार्थः

For the sake of taking the whole into cognition in the context.

प्रकरणे च सर्वेषां सम्प्रत्ययो यथा स्यात् - विदो लटो वेति

So that the whole may, in context, be taken into consideration, as in the *sūtra Vidō laṭō vā* (3, 4, 83).

III

किं पुनः शब्दतः साम्ये सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो भवति आहोस्विद् अर्थतः ?

Does *saṅkhyātānudēśa* take place on the basis of *śabda* or *artha?*

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference here?

सङ्ख्यासाम्यं शब्दतश्चेण्णलादयः परस्मैपदानां डारौरसः प्रथमस्य अयवायाव एच इत्यनिर्देशः

If *saṅkhyāsāmya* is based on *śabda*, it is not found in the following *sūtras* :-*Parasmāipadānām ṇal-atus-us....* (3, 4, 82), *Luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍārāurasaḥ* (2, 4, 85) and *Ecōsyavāyāvaḥ* (6, 1, 78) where *parasmāipadanām* and *ṇalādis*, *prathamasya* and *ḍārāurasaḥ* and *ēcaḥ* and *ayavāyāvaḥ* do not agree in number.

सङ्ख्यासाम्यं शब्दतश्चेण्णलादयः परस्मैपदानां डारौरसः प्रथमस्य अयवायाव एच इति अनिर्देशः । अगमको निर्देशः अनिर्देशः

If *saṅkhyāsāmya* is based on *śabda*, there is no agreement in number in the mention of *ṇalādis* and *parasmāipadānām*, *ḍā-rāu-rasaḥ* and *prathamasya* and *ay-av-āy-āvaḥ* and *ēcaḥ*. *Anirdēśa* is derived thus :-*agamakō nirdēśaḥ* (which means the *nirdēṣa* which is *saṅkhyāsāmya-anavabōdhaka*).

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परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः इति णलादयो बहवः परस्मैपदानामित्येकः शब्दः । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति ।

In the *sūtra Parasmāipadānām ṇal-atus-us-thal-athus-a-ṇal-va-māh, ṇalādis* are many and *parasmāipadānām* is one word and on account of the number of words not being the same in both, there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

डारौरसः प्रथमस्य, डारौरसो बहवः, प्रथमस्य इत्येकः शब्दः । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति ।

With reference to *Ḍārāurasaḥ prathamasya, ḍā-rāu-rasas* are many and *prathamasya* is one word and on account of disparity in their number there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

एचोऽयवायावः, अयवायावो बहवः, एच इत्येकः शब्दः । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति ।

In the *sūtra Ecōsyavāyāvaḥ, ay-av-āy-āvas* are many and *ēcaḥ* is one word and on account of disparity in their number there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

अस्तु तर्हि अर्थतः Let it, then, be on the basis of *artha.*

अर्थतश्चेल्लृलुटोर्नन्द्यरीहणसिन्धुतक्षशिलादिषु दोषः

If it is on the basis of *artha,* there will be difficulty in the *sūtras* referring to *lṛlutōḥ nandi* etc. *arīhaṇa* etc. and *sindhutakṣaśilādis.*

अर्थतश्चेत् लृलुटोर्नन्द्यरीहणसिन्धुतक्षशिलादिषु दोषो भवति

If it is on the basis of *artha,* there is difficulty with referring to *lṛluṭōrḥ nandi* etc. *arīhaṇa* etc. and *sindhutakṣaśilādis.*

स्यतासी लृलुटोः, स्यतासी द्वौ, लृलुटोरित्यस्य त्रयोऽर्थाः । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति ।

In the *sūtra Syatāsī lṛluṭōḥ* (3, 1, 33) *sya* and *tās* are two and *lṛluṭōḥ* convey three *arthas.* On account of disparity in number, there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

NOTE:—1. *Lṛ* refers to both *lṛṅ* and *lṛṭ* and so *lṛluṭāu* denotes three objects.

NOTE: - 2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here:–*Yadā tu lṛrūpam sāmānyam arthō lṛśabdasya iti pakṣaḥ, tadā astyēva sāmyam iti dōṣābhāvaḥ.*

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नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः, नन्द्यादयो बहवः, ल्युणिन्यचस्त्रयः । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

In the *sūtra Nandi-grahi-pacādibhyō lyuṇinyacaḥ* (3, 1, 134), *nandyādis* are more than three and *lyuṇinyacaḥ* are three. On account of disparity in number, there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

NOTE:—Here *Kāiyaṭa* reads thus:–*Nandyādiṣu api avayavēna vigrahaḥ, samudāyaḥ samāsārthaḥ iti āśrīyamāṇē samudāyatrayāpēkṣayā pratyayatrayasya sāmyasadbhāvād adōṣaḥ.*

अरीहणादयो बहवः, वुञादयः सप्तदश । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

In the *sūtra Vuñ-chaṇ....arīhaṇa-kṛśāśva...* (4, 2, 80), *arīhaṇādis* are many and *vuñādis* are seventeen. On account of the disparity in number there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ, सिन्धुतक्षशिलादयो बहवः, अणञौ द्वौ । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति ।

In the *sūtra Sindhu-takṣasilādibhyōsṇañāu* (4, 3, 93), *sindhutakṣaśilādis* are many and *aṇ* and *añ* are only two. On account of the disparity in number, there is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa.*

आत्मनेपदविधिनिष्ठासार्वधातुकद्विग्रहणेषु

(There will be *dōṣa*) in *ātmanēpadavidhi, niṣṭhā* and *sārvadhātukadvigrahaṇa.*

आत्मनेपदविधिनिष्ठासार्वधातुकद्विग्रहणेषु च दोषो भवति

There will be *dōṣa* with reference to *ātmanēpadavidhi, niṣṭhā* and *sārvadhātukadvigrahaṇa.*

आत्मनेपदविधिश्च न सिध्यति - अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्, अनुदात्तङितौ द्वौ आत्मनेपदमित्यस्य द्वावर्थौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति ।

There will be difficulty in the operation of *ātmanēpadavidhi-Anudāttaṅita ātmanēpadam* (1, 3, 12). *Anudātta* and *ṅit* are two and *ātmanēpada* denotes two (*taṅ* and *āna*) and here *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may chance to operate.

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निष्ठा - रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः इति रेफदकारौ द्वौ, निष्ठेत्यस्य द्वावर्थौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति ।

With reference to *niṣṭhā*. In the *sūtra Radābhyām niṣṭhātō naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ* (8, 2, 42), there are two:—*rēpha* and *dakāra* and *niṣṭhā* denotes two (*kta* and *ktavat*) and here *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may chance to operate.

सार्वधातुकार्द्धग्रहणेषु च दोषो भवति - श्नसोरल्लोपः, श्नमस्ती द्वौ, सार्वधातुकमित्यस्य द्वावर्थौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति ।

There chances *dōṣa* in the *sūtras* where *sārvadhātukatva* is associated with two. In the *sūtra Śnasōr allōpaḥ* (6, 4, 111), there are two–*śnam* and the root *as* and *sārvadhātuka* denotes two (*tiṅ* and *śit*) and here there is chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa* to operate.

एङः पूर्वत्वे प्रतिषेधः

Need for prohibiting *saṅkhyātānudēśa* with reference to *pūrvarūpa* when *ēṅ* is followed by *a*.

एङः पूर्वत्वे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । एङः पदान्तादति, ङसिङसोश्च, ङसिङसौ द्वौ एङित्यस्य द्वावर्थौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

There is need to prohibit *saṅkhyātānudēśa* with reference to *pūrvarūpa* when *ēṅ* is followed by *a*. In the *sūtra Ṅasiṅasōś ca* (6, 1, 110) which follows *Ēṅaḥ padāntād ati* (6, 1, 109), *ṅasi* (fifth case suffix) and *ṅas* (sixth case suffix) are two and *ēṅ* denotes two objects and there is chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa* to operate.

अस्तु तर्हि शब्दतः Let it, then, be on the basis of *śabda*.

ननु चोक्तं सङ्ख्यासाम्यं शब्दतश्चेण्णलादयः परस्मैपदानां डारौरसः प्रथमस्यायवायाव एच इत्यनिर्देशः इति ।

Oh, it has been said that, if *saṅkhyāsāmya* is based on *śabda*, there is no agreement in number in the mention of *ṇalādis* and *parasmāipadānām*, *ḍā-rāu-rasaḥ* and *prathamasya* and *ay-av-āy-āvaḥ* and *ēcaḥ*.

नैष दोषः । स्थानेऽन्तरतमः इत्यनेन व्यवस्था भविष्यति ।

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This difficulty does not arise. It will be warded off by the *sūtra Sthānēsntaratamaḥ*.

कुत आन्तर्यम् ? On what basis is *āntarya* taken?

एकार्थस्यैकार्थो, द्व्यर्थस्य द्व्यर्थौ, बह्वर्थस्य बह्वर्थः, संवृतावर्णस्य संवृतावर्णो, विवृतावर्णस्य विवृतावर्णः

The singular suffix has *āntarya* with the singular one, the dual with the dual, the plural with the plural, *saṁvṛta-akāra* with *saṁvṛta-akāra* and *vivṛta-akāra* with *vivṛta-akāra*.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśa* says that the mention of *saṁvṛtāvarṇasya saṁvṛtāvarṇaḥ* is unnecesary, since *akāra* is only *vivṛta* in *prakriyādaśā*. He also says that *ēkārthasya* etc. is *upalakṣaṇa* to *pratyaktvādi*.

अतिप्रसङ्गो गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधे क्ङिति

Ativyāpti in the *pratiṣēdha* of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* by the *sūtra Kṅiti ca* (1, 1, 5).

अतिप्रसङ्गो भवति गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधे क्ङिति । गुणवृद्धी द्वे क्ङितौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

There will be *ativyāpti* with reference to the prohibition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* by the *sūtra Kṅiti ca* (1, 1, 5). *Guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are two and *kit* and *ṅit* are two and hence there is chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa*.

नैष दोषः; गकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते

This difficulty does not arise; *gakāra* too is referred to here.

तर्हि गकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् Then there is need to read it.

न कर्तव्यम् । क्रियते न्यास एव । ककारे गकारश्चर्त्वभूतो निर्दिश्यते, गिति किति ङितीति ।

No, it need not be read. It is read in the *sūtra* itself. *Gakāra* is changed to voiceless *kakāra*, since it is followed by *kakāra*, so that the *sūtra* may be expanded into *giti kiti ṅiti*.

उदिकूले रुजिवहोः

Ativyāpti of *saṅkhyātānudēśa* in the operation of the *sūtra Udikūlē rujivahōḥ* (3, 2, 31).

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उदिकूले द्वे रुजिवहौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Udi and *kūla* are two and *ruj* and *vah* are two. There is chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa*.

नैष दोषः । नोदिरुपपदम् ।

This difficulty does not arise; for the word *ut* is not *upapada*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

विशेषणं रुजिवहोः - उत्पूर्वाभ्यां रुजिवहिभ्यां कूल उपपद इति

It is *viśēṣaṇa* to *ruj* and *vaḥ*, so that the *sūtra* may be expanded thus—*ut-pūrvābhyām ruji-vahibhyām kūlē upapadē*.

तच्छीलादिषु धातुत्रिग्रहणेषु

(*Ativyāpti*) in places where three roots are mentioned in *sūtras*, which take *pratyaya* denoting *tācchīlya* etc.

तच्छीलादिषु धातुत्रिग्रहणेषु दोषो भवति । विदिभिदिच्छिदेः कुरच्; विदिभिदिच्छिदयः त्रयः, तच्छीलादयस्त्रयः । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति ।

Difficulty arises in *sūtras* having three roots taking a *pratyaya* having three meanings *tācchīlya* etc. In the *sūtra* *Vidi-bhidi-cchidēḥ kurac* (3, 6, 162), *vid*, *bhid* and *chid* are three and *tācchīlādis* which *kurac* denotes are three (*tācchīlya*, *vayōvacana* and *śakti* 3–2–129) and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* has there a chance to set in.

घञादिषु द्विग्रहणेषु

Ativyāpti in the *sūtras* where two which take the *pratyaya* *ghañ* etc. are mentioned.

घञादिषु द्विग्रहणेषु दोषो भवति । निरभ्योः पूल्वोः । निरभी द्वौ, पूल्वौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति ।

Difficulty arises in *sūtras* where two which take the *pratyaya* *ghañ* etc. are mentioned. In the *sūtra* *Nir-abhyōḥ pū-lvōḥ* (3, 3, 28), *nir* and *abhi* are two and *pū* and *lū* are two and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* has a chance to set in there.

नैष दोषः । इष्यते चात्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः, निष्पावः अभिलाव इति

There is no harm here. *Saṅkhyātānudēśa* is here wished for viz. *niṣpāvaḥ*, *abhilāvaḥ*.

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एवं तर्हि अकर्तरि च कारके भावे च इति द्वौ, पूल्वौ द्वौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

If so, *akartari ca kārakē, bhāvē* which are taken by *anuvṛtti* from 3-3-19 & 3-3-18 are two and *pū* and *lū* are two and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may there set in.

अवे तॄस्त्रोः करणाधिकरणयोः

Ativyāpti in *tṝ* and *stṛ* preceded by *ava* when they take *ghañ* in the sense of *karaṇatva* and *adhikaraṇatva.*

तॄस्त्रौ द्वौ करणाधिकरणे द्वे । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

The roots *tṝ* and *stṛ* are two and *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* are two. Hence *saṅkhyātānudēśa* has a chance to set in the interpretation of the *sūtra Avē tṝstrór ghañ* (3, 3, 120) where there is *anuvṛtti* to *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* from the *sūtra* (3, 3, 117).

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृञोः

Ativyāpti with reference to *bhū* and *kṛñ* when *kartṛ* or *karman* is *upapada.*

कर्तृकर्मणी द्वे भूकृञौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Kartṛ and *karman* are two and *bhū* and *kṛñ* are two and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may set in there.

NOTE :—The *sūtra* referred to is *Kartṛkarmaṇō bhūkṛñōḥ* (3, 3, 127).

अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि

(*Ativyāpti*) in operation of the *sūtra Anavakḷptyamarṣayōr akiṁvṛttēspi* (3, 3, 145).

अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षौ द्वौ किंवृत्ताकिंवृत्ते द्वे । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Anavakḷpti and *amarṣa* are two and *akiṁvṛtta* and *kiṁvṛtta* are two. *Saṅkhyātānudēśa* chances to set in.

NOTE :—There is *anuvṛtti* for *kiṁvṛttē* from 3, 3, 144.

कृभ्वोः क्त्वाणमुलौ

Ativyāpti where the roots *kṛ* and *bhū* take the *pratyayas ktvā* and *ṇamul.*

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कृभ्वौ द्वौ, क्त्वाणमुलौ द्वौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Kr and *bhū* are two, *ktvā* and *ṇamul* are two and there *saṅkhyātānudēśa* chances to appear.

NOTE :—The concerned *sūtra* is *Svāṅgē tas-pratyayē kṛbhvōḥ* (3, 4, 61) where there is *anuvṛtti* for *ktvāṇamulāu* from 3, 4, 59.

अधीयानविदुषोश्छन्दोब्राह्मणानि

Ativyāpti with reference to the *pratyayas* enjoined in the *sūtra* *Tad adhītē tad vēda* (4, 2, 59) to be tacked on to the words *chandas* and *brāhmaṇāni* found in 4, 2, 66.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि द्वे, अधीते वेद इति च द्वौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Chandas and *brāhmaṇāni* are two, *adhītē* and *vēda* are two and there *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may set in.

रोपधेतोः पथिदूतयोः

Ativyāpti with reference to *rōpadha* and *īkāra* on one side and *pathin* and *dūta* on the other side.

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम्, तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः, रोपधेतौ द्वौ, पथिदूतौ द्वौ, तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

With reference to the *sūtras Rōpadhētōḥ prācām* (4, 2, 123) and *Tad gacchati pathidūtayōḥ* (4, 3, 85), *rōpadha* and *īt* are two, *pathin* and *dūta* are two and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may set in there.

तत्र भवस्तस्य व्याख्यानः क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च

Ativyāpti to *tatra-bhava-pratyaya* and *tasya-vyākhyāna-pratyaya* with reference to *kratu* and *yajña*.

तत्र भवस्तस्य व्याख्यानौ द्वौ, क्रतुयज्ञौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति ।

Tatra-bhava-pratyaya and *tasya-vyākhyāna-pratyaya* are two, *kratu* and *yajña* (4, 3, 68) are two and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may set in.

सङ्घादिष्वञ्प्रभृतयः

Avyāpti in *saṅghādi* with reference to the *pratyayas añ* etc.

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सङ्घादिष्वञ्प्रभृतयः सङ्ख्यातानुदेशेन न सिध्यन्ति

The *pratyayas añ* etc. (noted in the *sūtra Saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇēṣu añyañiñāmaṇ* 4, 3, 127) with reference to *saṅgha* etc. cannot be made to apply in order.

नैष दोषः; घोषग्रहणमपि तत्र कर्तव्यम्

There is no harm there; the word *ghōṣa* too should there be read.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल्खौ

Ativyāpti with reference to *vēśō yaśādi* in taking the *pratyayas yalkhāu* (4, 4, 131).

वेशो यश आदी द्वौ यल्खौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Vēśa-ādi and *yaśa-ādi* are two, *yal* and *kha* are two and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may set in there.

ङसिङसोः ख्यत्यात्परस्य

Ativyāpti with reference to *khiti* and *khīti* in connection with the *pratyayas ṅasi* and *ṅas*.

ङसिङसौ द्वौ, ख्यत्यौ द्वौ । तत्र सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः प्राप्नोति

Ṅasi and *ṅas* are two, *khiti* and *khīti* are two (6, 1, 112) and *saṅkhyātānudēśa* may set in there.

न वा समानयोगवचनात्

No, on account of *yathāsaṅkhyam* being applied to what is found in one *sūtra*.

न वैष दोषः The difficulties raised above do not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

समानयोगवचनात् - समानयोगे सङ्ख्यातानुदेशं वक्ष्यामि ।

On account of *samāna-yōga-vacana*. I shall state that *yathāsaṅkhyam* applies only with reference to those that are found in the same *sūtra*.

तस्य दोषो विदो लटो वा

The defect on so saying is in the operation of the *sūtra Vidō laṭō vā* (3, 4, 83).

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तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषो विदो लटो वा इति सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

The defect on holding that *lakṣaṇa* is found in the interpretation of the *sūtra Vidō laṭō vā*, since *saṅkhyātānudēśa* has no chance to play its part there.

NOTE:—*Parasmāipadānām ṇalatusus*...which are needed here are found in the previous *sūtra*.

ध्माधेटोर्नाडीमुष्ट्योश्च

The defect is with reference to *dhmā* and *dhēṭ* in association with the *upapada nāḍī* and *muṣṭi*.

ध्माधेटोर्नाडीमुष्ट्योश्च सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

Saṅkhyātānudēśa has no chance to set in with reference to *dhmā* and *dhēṭ* when they take *nāḍī* and *muṣṭi* for their *upapada* in 3, 2, 30.

खलगोरथादिनित्रकट्यचश्च

The defect lies in the stems *khala*, *gō* and *ratha* taking the *pratyayas ini*, *tra* and *kaṭya*.

सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

There is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa*.

NOTE:—*Khalagōrathāt* (4, 2, 50) is one *sūtra* and *Initrakaṭyacaś ca* (4, 2, 51) is another *sūtra*.

सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कनणञौ च

The defect lies in the stems *sindhu* and *apakara* which take *kan* taking the *pratyayas aṇ* and *añ*.

सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति

There is no chance for *saṅkhyātānudēśa*.

NOTE:—*Aṇañāu ca* (4, 3, 33) is a separate *sūtra*.

युष्मदस्मदोश्चादेशाः

There will be difficulty in the *ādēśas* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

युष्मदस्मदोश्चादेशाः सङ्ख्यातानुदेशेन न सिध्यन्ति

The *ādēśas* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* cannot be taken through *saṅkhyātānudēśa*.

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तस्माद् यस्मिन् पक्षेऽल्पीयांसो दोषास्तमास्थाय प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु

Hence the defects raised in that *pakṣa* which has the less number of flaws have to be met with.

अथ वैवं वक्ष्यामि "यथासङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानां स्वरितेन" ततः अधिकारः । अधिकारश्च भवति स्वरितेन इति

Or I shall read the *sūtras* thus:—*Yathāsaṅkhyam anudēśaḥ samānām svaritēna* and then *Adhikāraḥ*. We get *adhikāraḥ* through *svarita*.

एवमपि स्वरितं दृष्ट्वा सन्देहः स्यात् - न ज्ञायते किमयं समसङ्ख्यार्थः, आहोस्विद् अधिकारार्थ इति ।

Even then this doubt will arise on seeing the *svarita* whether it is intended to denote *samasaṅkhyā* or *adhikāra*.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । समसङ्ख्यार्थ इति व्याख्यास्यामः

Doubt alone springs there. In all cases of doubt there is this dictum '*Vyākhyānatō viśēṣapratipattir na hi sandēhād alakṣaṇam.*' We explain that it is to denote *samasaṅkhyā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:–*Yatra svaritatvam pratijñāyatē tatrāiva śabdatō arthatō vā sāmyāśrayēṇa yathāsaṅkhyam, nānyatra satyapi saṅkhyāsāmyē.*

स्वरितेनाधिकारः (1, 3, 11)

The purpose served by the *sūtra* is the only topic discussed here.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? Why is this *sūtra* read ?

अधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थः

Adhikāra is intended for its non-repetition in each *sūtra*.

अधिकारः क्रियते, प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थः इति

Adhikāra is resorted to, so that it may not be repeated in every *sūtra*.

किमिदं प्रतियोगमिति ?

What is this—the expression *pratiyōgam* ?

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योगं योगं प्रति प्रतियोगम्

The word *pratiyōgam* is derived thus—*yōgam yōgam prati.*

योगे योगे तस्य ग्रहणं मा कार्षम् इति

So that I may not read it in every *sūtra.*

किं गतमेतदियता सूत्रेण ?

Is this the meaning that is understood from this *sūtra ?*

गतम् इत्याह 'Yes', says he.

कुतः ? On what authority ?

लाकतः From the world.

तद्यथा लोके 'अधिकृतोऽसौ ग्रामे', 'अधिकृतोऽसौ नगरे' इत्युच्यते, यो यत्र व्यापारं गच्छति । शब्देन चाप्यधिकृतेन कोऽन्यो व्यापारः शक्योऽवगन्तुमन्यदतो योगे योग उपस्थानात् ।

It is illustrated thus :–He who has work to do in a village or a city is said '*Adhikṛtōssāu grāmē*' *Adhikṛtōssāu nagarē*'. What can a word which is *adhikṛta* do except making its appearance in every *sūtra* ?

न वा निर्दिश्यमानाधिकृतत्वाद्यथा लोके

No, this need not be on account of the *adhikṛtatva* of that which is newly mentioned, as is in the world.

न वैतत्प्रयोजनमस्ति No, this need not be the *prayōjana.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

निर्दिश्यमानाधिकृतत्वाद्यथा लोके - निर्दिश्यमानमधिकृतं गम्यते ।

On account of the *adhikṛtatva* of that which is newly mentioned, as is in the world. It is understood that what is newly mentioned gets the *vyāpāra.*

तद्यथा - देवदत्ताय गौर्दीयतां, यज्ञदत्ताय विष्णुमित्राय इति । गौरिति गम्यते । एवमिहापि पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ्, स्र स्थिरे, भावे घञ् इति गम्यते ।

This may be illustrated thus :—Let a cow be given to *Dēvadatta*, *Yajñadatta*, *Viṣṇumitra* and it is understood that a cow may be given to *Yajñadatta* and one to *Viṣṇumitra.* So also

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here the *ghañ* in the sense of *bhāvē* mentioned in the *sūtra Padaruja-viśu-spṛśō ghañ* (3, 3, 16) follows in the following *sūtra Sṛ sthirē*.

अन्यनिर्देशस्तु निवर्तकस्तस्मात्परिभाषा

Mention of another sets at naught and so there is need for the *paribhāṣā*:

अन्यनिर्देशस्तु लोके निवर्तको भवति । तद्यथा देवदत्ताय गौर्दीयतां, यज्ञदत्ताय कम्बलो विष्णुमित्राय च इति कम्बलो गोर्निवर्तको भवति । एवमिहापि अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् घञो निवर्तकः स्यात् ।

Mention of another in the world sets at naught what has been mentioned. This may be illustrated thus:-Let a cow be given to *Dēvadatta* and a *kambala* to *Yajñadatta* and *Viṣṇumitra*. Here the mention of *kambala* makes the cow recede. So also here the *inuṇ* mentioned in the *sūtra Abhividhāu bhāva inuṇ* (3, 3, 44) makes *ghañ* recede.

तस्मात् परिभाषा कर्तव्या Hence is the need for the *paribhāṣā*.

अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु Non-knowledge of the limit of *adhikāra*.

अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु भवति । न ज्ञायते कियन्तमवधिम् अधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति

There is the non-knowledge of *adhikāraparimāṇa*. It is not known how far *adhikāra* extends.

अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थं तु To know the extent of the *adhikāra*.

अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थमेव तर्ह्ययं योगे वक्तव्यः । अधिकारपरिमाणं ज्ञास्यामि इति

If so, this *sūtra* has to be read only to know the extent of the *adhikāra* — that I may know the extent of the *adhikāra*.

कथं पुनः स्वरितेनाधिकारः इत्यनेन अधिकारपरिमाणं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्?

How is it, then, possible to understand the extent of the *adhikāra* from the *sūtra Svaritēnādhikāraḥ* ?

एवं वक्ष्यामि स्वरितेनाधिकारः इति । स्वरितं दृष्ट्वा अधिकारो न भवति इति ।

I shall then read the *sūtra Svaritēnādhikāraḥ* in the sense that *adhikāra* ceases on seeing the *svarita*.

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केनेदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति ?

On what authority will *adhikāra* commence ?

लौकिकोऽधिकारः *Adhikāra* commences, as is in the world.

न, अधिकार इति चेदुक्तम्

No, objection was raised against *lāukika-adhikāra.*

किमुक्तम् ? What objection was raised ?

अन्यनिर्देशस्तु निवर्तकस्तस्मात्परिभाषा इति

Anya-nirdēśas tu nivartakas tasmāt paribhāṣā.

अधिकारार्थमेव तर्ह्ययं योगो वक्तव्यः

This *sūtra* has, then, to be read only for *adhikāra.*

ननु चोक्तम् अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु इति

Oh, objection was raised against it thus :—*Adhikāra - parimāṇājñānam tu.*

यावतिथोऽलनुबन्धस्तावतो योगानिति वचनात्सिद्धम्

It is accomplished by taking that an *al* is read as *anubandha* to suggest that the *adhikāra* extends to the same number of *sūtras* as its number in the *pratyāhāra-sūtras.*

यावतिथोऽल् अनुबध्यते तावतो योगान् अधिकारोऽनुवर्तते इति वक्तव्यम्

It must be that the *adhikāra* extends to the same number of *sūtras* as is the number of *al* (in the *pratyāhāra sūtras*) used as an *anubandha.*

NOTE :—If the *adhikāra* extends to two *sūtras*, *i* should be read as *anubandha* ; *u* should be read if it is to extend to three *sūtras* etc.

अथेदानीं यत्राल्पीयांसोऽलः, भूयसश्च योगानधिकारो अनुवर्तते, कथं तत्र कर्तव्यम् ?

What should be done where the number of *al* is smaller than the number of *sūtras* to which the *adhikāra* extends ?

भूयसि प्राग्वचनम्

When the number is great, the word *prāk* is to be read.

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भूयसि प्राग्वचनं कर्तव्यम्, प्रागमुतः इति वक्तव्यम्

When the number is great, the word *prāk*, as *prāk* of this, should be read.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It has to be read.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद् भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । प्रागमुत इति व्याख्यास्यामः

Doubt alone arises there. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this—that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *śāstra* to be neglected. We comment that it is before this.

यद्येवं नार्थोऽनेन If so, no purpose is served by this *sūtra*.

केनेदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति ?

How will then *adhikāra* be accomplished ?

लौकिकोऽधिकारः

Adhikāra as is seen in the world is resorted to.

ननु चोक्तं नाधिकार इति चेदुक्तम्

Oh, it was said that objection was raised against *lāukika-adhikāra*.

किमुक्तम् ? What objection was raised ?

अन्यनिर्देशस्तु निवर्तकस्तस्मात् परिभाषा

Mention of another sets at naught and hence is the need for *paribhāṣā*.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इत्युक्तम् । इनुण्घञिति सन्देहे घञिति व्याख्यास्यामः ।

Doubt alone arises there. In all cases of doubt it was said that this dictum stands before us '*Vyākhyānatō viśēṣapratipattir na hi sandēhād alakṣaṇam.*' When it is doubtful whether the *pratyaya inuṇ* found in *Abhividhāu bhāva inuṇ* (3, 3, 44) is to be taken by *anuvṛtti* in the next *sūtra Ākrōśēsvanyōr grahaḥ* or *ghañ*, found in 3, 3, 16, we declare it is *ghañ*.

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न तर्हि इदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः

In that case this *sūtra* need not be read now.

वक्तव्यश्च Certainly should it be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत, अधिकं कार्यम्, अधिकः कारः

So that *adhikāragati*, *adhikam kāryam* and *adhikaḥ kāraḥ* may be understood through *svarita*.

अधिकारगतिः - गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य इत्यत्र गोटाङ्ग्रहणं चोदितं तन्न कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भविष्यतीति स्त्रियामित्येवं प्रकृत्य ये प्रत्यया विहितास्तेषां ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते । तत्र स्वरितेन अधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति ।

Adhikāragatiḥ:—Need for *gōṭāṅgrahaṇam* was stated under the *sūtra Gōstriyōr-upasarjanasya* (1, 2, 48) and it need not be made. The word *strī* is read with *svarita* accent. Taking that the *adhikāra* of *striyām* is suggested by *svarita*, all *pratyayas* which are enjoined under the range of *striyām* are taken into account.

अधिकं कार्यम्:—अपादानमाचार्यः किं न्याय्यं मन्यते? यत्र प्राप्य निवृत्तिः । तेनेहैव स्यात् - ग्रामाद् आगच्छति, नगराद् आगच्छति । साङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतरा इत्यत्र न स्यात् । स्वरितेन अधिकं कार्यं भवतीत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति । तथा - अधिकरणमाचार्यः किं न्याय्यं मन्यते? यत्र कृत्स्न आधारात्मा व्याप्तो भवति । तेनेहैव स्यात्, तिलेषु तैलम्, दध्नि सर्पिरिति । गङ्गायां गावः, कूपे गर्गकुलमित्यत्र न स्यात् । स्वरितेन अधिकं कार्यं भवतीति अत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ।

Adhikam kāryam. Which does *Ācārya* consider to be the proper *apādāna*? The place from where actual separation takes place. In that case, the fifth case will be regular only in the sentences, *grāmād āgacchati*, *nagarād āgacchati* and it cannot be regular in the sentence *Sāṅkāśyakēbhyaḥ Pāṭaliputrakā abhirūpatarāḥ* (People of *Pāṭaliputra* are more beautiful than those of *Sāṅkāśyaka*). It is achieved here too by *svarita* taking that it does more *kārya*. Similarly which does *Ācārya* consider to be the proper *adhikaraṇa*? Where the whole *ādhēya* is in association with it. In that case the use of the locative will be proper only in the sentences, *tilēṣu tāilam* (there is oil in seasamum) and *dadhni sarpiḥ* (there is clarified butter in curd) and it cannot be regular in *Gaṅgāyām gāvaḥ* (there are cows in the Ganges) and *kūpē gargakulam*

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(there is a family of earthworms in the well). It is achieved here too by *svarita* taking that it does more *kārya.*

अधिकः कारः - पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाश्च न पठितव्या भवन्ति-गुणवृद्ध्यौत्त्वतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुम्पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धम् । नुमचिरतृज्वद्भ्यो नुडिति । नुम्नुटौ स्वरयिष्येते । तत्र स्वरितेन अधिकः कारो भवतीति नुम्नुटौ भविष्यतः

Adhikaḥ kāraḥ. The cases where *vipratiṣēdhē pūrvaṁ kāryam* operates need not be read :–*Num* in preference to *guṇa, vṛddhi, āutva* and *tṛjvadbhāva* and *nuṭ* in preference to *num, cira* and *tṛjvadbhāva. Num* and *nuṭ* are read with *svarita* accent. Through the capacity of *svarita* that it does *adhika-kāra, num* and *nuṭ* set in there.

कथं पुनः अधिकः कार इत्यनेन पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः शक्या न पठितुम् ?

On what authority can we not read *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* by taking *adhikāra* in the sense *adhikaḥ kāraḥ* ?

लोकतः From the world.

तद्यथा - लोके 'अधिकमयं कारं करोति' इत्युच्यते, योऽयं दुर्बलः सन् बलवद्भिः सह भारं वहति । एवमिहापि अधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते योऽयं पूर्वः सन् परं बाधते

It may be illustrated thus :—When a weak man is able to bear a burden along with the strong, people say in the world, "This man does *adhika-kāra.*" Similarly here too that which over-rules those that follow is said to do *adhika-kāra.*

अधिकारगतिस्त्र्यर्था विशेषायाधिकं कार्यम् ।
अथ योऽन्योऽधिकः कारः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधार्थः सः ॥

The three-fold use of the *sūtra Svaritēna adhikāraḥ* mentioned above is stated in this *gāthā.*

NOTE :—1. *Nāgēśa* reads here :—*Dvitīyaphalam-viśēṣāyēti-gāuṇasaṅgrahāyētyarthaḥ. Tṛtīyam āha-atha yōsnya iti.*

NOTE :—2. *Vārttikakāra* has not stated the second and the third *prayōjanas,* but has mentioned only the first with some emendation. But it seems *Mahābhāṣyakāra* has given them on the authority of an old *gāthā.* Or perhaps the *gāthā* is his own.

THIRTEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS.

(First *adhyāya,* third *pāda,* first *āhnika* ends)

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Fourteenth Āhnika

(First adhyāya, third pāda, second āhnika)

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् (1, 3, 12)

Three topics are discussed here :—(1) Is there the need for the prohibition of *ātmanēpada* terminations after conjugational signs? (2) Does this *sūtra* restrain the application of verbal terminations or enjoin them? (3) Is there *pratyaya-niyama* or *prakṛtyartha-niyama* here?

I

विकरणेभ्यः प्रतिषेधः
Prohibition after conjugational signs.

विकरणेभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - चिनुतः, सुनुतः, लुनीतः, पुनीतः । ङित इति आत्मनेपदं प्राप्नोति
There is need for the prohibition (of *ātmanēpada* terminations) after conjugational signs; for otherwise *ātmanēpada* terminations have to be used in the verbs *cinutaḥ*, *sunutaḥ*, *lunītaḥ* and *punītaḥ* on the strength of *ṅitaḥ* in the *sūtra*.

NOTE :—The conjugational signs used in the above forms are not *pit* and hence they are considered to be *ṅit* on the strength of the *sūtra Sārvadhātukam apit* (1, 2, 4).

नैष दोषः ; नैवं विज्ञायते ङकार इद् यस्य सोऽयं ङित्, ङितः इति
This difficulty does not arise. *Ṅitaḥ* is not taken as the ablative singular of *ṅit* which is a *bahuvrīhi* compound having its *vigraha ṅakāraḥ it yasya saḥ*.

कथं तर्हि ? How, then, is it taken?

[1] ङकार इद् ङित्, ङित इति
It is taken as the ablative singular of *ṅit* which is a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

अथ वा उपदेश इति वर्तते
Or, the *upadēśa* is taken here by *anuvṛtti*.

1. *Ṅkāra ēva* is the reading in *Śrī Guruprasāda Sāstri* edition.

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अथ वा [1] उक्तमेतत् 'सिद्धं तु पूर्वस्य कार्यातिदेशात्' इति

Or it has been said that the object is achieved on account of the *atidēśa* referring to the *kārya* of what precedes.

सर्वथा चङङ्भ्यां प्राप्नोति

Anyhow it will chance to appear after *caṅ* and *aṅ*.

एवं तर्हि धातोरिति प्रकृतं वर्तते

If so, the word *dhātōḥ* is taken here by *anuvṛtti* from the context.

क्व प्रकृतम् ?

What is the *sūtra* which is found in the context whence the *anuvṛtti* is made ?

भूवादयो धातवः इति The *sūtra Bhūvādayō dhātavaḥ*.

तद्वै प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं, पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टेन चेहार्थः

It is in the nominative case there and we here want the ablative case.

अर्थाद्विभक्तिपरिणामो भविष्यति

The change in the case takes place to suit the need.

तद्यथा - उच्चानि देवदत्तस्य गृहाणि, आमन्त्रयस्वैनम् - देवदत्तमिति गम्यते । देवदत्तस्य गावोऽश्वा हिरण्यं च, आढ्यो वैधेयः - देवदत्त इति गम्यते

It may be illustrated thus :–High are the storeys of *Dēvadatta's* bungalow ; call him in a loud tone. It is seen that the word *him* refers to *Dēvadatta.* Cows, horses and gold are of *Dēvadatta* ; the fool is rich. It is seen that the word *fool* refers to *Dēvadatta*.

पुरस्तात षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टं सत् अर्थात् प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं द्वितीयानिर्दिष्टं च भवति । एवमिहापि पुरस्तात् प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं सत् अर्थात् पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टं भविष्यति

It (*Dēvadattasya*) being first mentioned in the sixth case, it is, out of necessity, changed to the first case and the second case respectively. So also, it being mentioned in the first case there, it is changed into the fifth case here.

1. This was said under the *sūtra Gāṅkuṭādibhyōऽñṇinkit* (1, 2, 1).

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II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? With what purpose is this *sūtra* read?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* explains it thus:-Does this serve as *niyama-sūtra* restricting the application of *lādēśas* or a *vidhi-sūtra* enjoining *ātmanēpada* terminations?

आत्मनेपदवचनं नियमार्थम्
Mention of this *sūtra* with reference to *ātmanēpada* is to serve as *niyama*.

नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः This attempt is for the sake of *niyama*.

किमुच्यते नियमार्थोऽयमिति, न पुनर्विध्यर्थोऽपि स्यात्?
Why is it said that this is for the sake of *niyama* and not for the sake of *vidhi* as well?

लविधानाद्विहितम्
The injunction has been made by the mention of *lādēśas* (in the *sūtra Tip-tas-jhi*....3, 4, 78).

लविधानाद्धि आत्मनेपदं परस्मैपदं च विहितम्
Both *ātmanēpada* and *parasmāipada* are enjoined by the *sūtra* mentioning *lādēśas*.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Can this be the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? What difficulty is there?

विकरणव्यवहितत्वात्तु नियमाप्राप्तिः
There is no chance for *niyama* to act, on account of the interception of conjugational signs.

विकरणैस्तु व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति
There is no chance for *niyama* to act on account of the interception of *vikaraṇas*.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यं, विकरणाः क्रियन्तां नियम इति
This has to be decided whether the *vidhis* enjoining *vikaraṇas* operate first or this *niyama-vidhi*.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? Which has the prior chance here?

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परत्वाद्विकरणाः

Rules enjoining *vikaraṇas* should operate first, since they are *para*.

नित्याः खल्वपि विकरणाः, कृतेऽपि नियमे प्राप्नुवन्ति अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नुवन्ति । नित्यत्वात् परत्वाच्च विकरणेषु कृतेषु विकरणैः व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति

Vikaraṇas are then *nitya*, since they operate both when the *niyama* has operated and when the *niyama* has not operated. Since they are both *nitya* and *para* they operate first and then there is no chance for the *niyama* to operate on account of the interception of *vikaraṇas*.

नैष दोषः, अनवकाशो नियमः

This difficulty cannot arise, since the *niyama* will then have no room to operate.

सावकाशः It has room to operate.

कोऽवकाशः? Where is the room to operate?

य एते लुग्विकरणा श्लुविकरणाश्च लिङ्लिटौ च

Where roots take *lugvikaraṇa* and *śluvikaraṇa* and take the terminations of *liṅ* and *liṭ*.

यदि पुनरियं

परिभाषा

विज्ञायेत Suppose this *sūtra* is taken as a *paribhāṣā*.

किं कृतं भवति? What is gained by it?

कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम्, यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । लस्य तिबादयो भवन्ति इति उपस्थितमिदं भवति अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदं, शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् इति ।

On account of the dictum *Kāryakālam saṁjñāparibhāṣam*, this *sūtra* appears on the scene of action. Where *lakāra* takes *tib-ādēśas*, the two *sūtras Anudātta-ṅita ātmanēpadam* and *Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam* appear on the scene.

एवमपि इतरेतराश्रयं भवति ।

Even then the defect of inter-dependence sets in.

का इतरेतराश्रयता? How is interdependence?

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अभिनिर्वृत्तानां लस्य स्थाने तिबादीनामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञया भावितव्यम्, संज्ञया च तिबादयो भाव्यन्ते, तद् इतरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते

The *saṁjñās ātmanēpada* and *parasmāipada* have to be given only after *tibādis* have taken the place of *lakāra* and through *saṁjñā tibādis* are made to exist. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished.

परस्मैपदेषु तावन्नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । परस्मैपदानुक्रमणं न करिष्यते ।

There is no interdependence with reference to *parasmāipada*; *parasmāipadas* are not enjoined with reference to particular *prakṛtis*.

अवश्यं कर्तव्यम् - अनुपराभ्यां कृञः इत्येवमर्थम्

It should necessarily be done so that the root *kṛ* when preceded by *anu* and *parā* (even when the *kriyāphala* goes to *kartā*) may take *parasmāipada* terminations.

ननु चैतदपि आत्मनेपदानुक्रमण एव करिष्यते, स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले, आत्मनेपदं भवति, कर्तरि अनुपराभ्यां कृञो न इति ।

Oh, this too may be read where the *prakṛtis* which take *ātmanēpada* terminations are read. The *sūtra Svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* (1, 3, 72) enjoins the use of *ātmanēpada* terminations and the *sūtra Anu-parābhyām kṛñaḥ* (1, 3, 79) may be read *Kartari anuparābhyām kṛñō na*.

NOTE :—In this case the *sūtra* has to be changed.

आत्मनेपदेषु चापि नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति

The defect of interdependence does not set in even with reference to *ātmanēpada* terminations.

कथम्? How?

भाविनी संज्ञा विज्ञास्यते सूत्रशाटकवत् । तद्यथा - कश्चित् कञ्चित् तन्तुवायमाह, 'अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय' इति । स पश्यति, यदि शाटको न वातव्यः, अथ वातव्यो न शाटकः, शाटको वातव्यश्च इति विप्रतिषिद्धम्, भाविनी खलु अस्य संज्ञा अभिप्रेता - स मन्ये वातव्यो यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद् भवति इति । एवमिहापि, स लस्य स्थाने कर्तव्यः यस्य अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य आत्मनेपदमित्येषा संज्ञा भविष्यति

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The *saṁjñā* which is to come will be taken into consideration like *sūtraśāṭaka* (cloth of thread). This is explained thus:– One says to a weaver, "Weave a cloth of this thread." He thinks thus:—If it is already a cloth, it need not be woven; and if it is to be woven, it is not a cloth. The expressions—cloth and one to be woven conflict each other. Hence the *saṁjñā* that is to come is meant here. I think therefore that what will be called a cloth after it is woven is meant here. So also here, that the *ādēśa* of *lakāra* should take its place, which will, afterwards, get the *ātmanēpada saṁjñā*.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु नियमः Or let it be considered as *niyama*.

ननु चोक्तं विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति

Oh, it was said that there cannot be *niyama* on account of the interception of *vikaraṇas*.

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान् इति, यदयं विकरणविधौ आत्मनेपदपरस्मैपदान्याश्रयति पुषादिद्युताद्य्लृदितः परस्मैपदेषु, आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् इति ।

This defect cannot stand. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *niyama* is stronger than *vikaraṇa* since, he holds *ātmanēpada* and *parasmāipada* as the basis for *vikaraṇavidhi* in the *sūtras Puṣādi-dyutādi-ḷditaḥ parasmāipadēṣu* (3, 1, 55) and *Ātmanēpadēṣvanyatarasyām* (2, 4, 44).

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अभिनिर्वृत्तानि हि लस्य स्थाने आत्मनेपदानि परस्मैपदानि च

This cannot be *jñāpaka*, for *ātmanēpada* terminations and *parasmāipada* terminations are entitled to be *ādēśas* of *lakāra*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Prāg api niyamāt tēṣām sambhavamātrēṇa nimittatva-avirōdhāt.*

यत्तर्हि अनुपसर्गाद्वा इति विभाषां शास्ति

If so, it is secured by the fact that *Ācārya* enjoins *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Anupasargād vā* (1, 3, 43).

III

किं पुनरयं प्रत्ययनियमः - अनुदात्तङित एव आत्मनेपदं भवति, भावकर्मणोरेव आत्मनेपदं भवति इति, आहोस्वित् प्रकृत्यर्थनियमः - अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदमेव, भावकर्मणोरात्मनेपदमेव इति ?

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Does this restrict the use of the *pratyaya* that, if *ātmanēpada* is to be used, it should be used only after *anudattēt* and *ṅidanta* and only in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇi-prayōga* or the *prakṛti* and its meaning that, after *anudāttēt* and *ṅidanta* and in *bhāvē-prayōga* and *karmaṇi-prayōga*, only *ātmanēpada* terminations should be used?

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference here?

तत्र प्रत्ययनियमे शेषवचनं परस्मैपदस्यानिवृत्तत्वात्

Of them, if it is *pratyaya-niyama*, there is need for the word *śēṣāt* on account of *parasmāipada* not being prevented after them.

तत्र प्रत्ययनियमे शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् परस्मैपदनियमार्थं 'शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम्' इति

Of them, if it is *pratyaya-niyama*, there is need for the word *śēṣāt* to restrict the use of *parasmāipada* in the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

परस्मैपदस्य अनिवृत्तत्वात् - प्रत्यया नियताः प्रकृत्यर्थौ अनियतौ; तत्र परस्मैपदमपि प्राप्नोति। तत्र शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं परस्मैपदनियमार्थं शेषादेव परस्मैपदं भवति नान्यत इति

On account of the *parasmāipada* not being prevented. The *pratyayas* have been restricted and *prakṛti* and *artha* have not been restricted; hence is chance for *parasmāipada* also to be used there. Therefore the word *śēṣāt* has to be read to restrict the use of *parasmāipada*, so that *parasmāipada* can be used only after the rest and after none else.

क्यष आत्मनेपदवचनं तस्यान्यत्र नियमात्

The need for the mention of *ātmanēpada* after *kyaṣ* (in the *sūtra Vā kyaṣaḥ* (1, 3, 90) on account of its being restricted elsewhere.

क्यष आत्मनेपदं वक्तव्यम् - लोहितायति, लोहितायते

Mention should be made of *ātmanēpada* after *kyaṣ* so that the form *lōhitāyatē* between *lōhitāyati* and *lōhitāyatē* can be achieved.

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किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति? Why is it not achieved?

तस्यान्यत्र नियमात् - तद्धि अन्यत्र नियम्यते

On account of its being restricted elsewhere – for it has been restricted elsewhere (*i e.* after *anudāttēt* and *ṅidanta*).

NOTE:—*Nāgēśa* says that the *sūtra Vā kyaṣaḥ* (1, 3, 90) and the following three *sūtras* are suggested to be read before the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam* (1, 3, 78).

उच्यते च, न च प्राप्नोति । तद् वचनाद्भविष्यति

It is said and it is argued that it has no chance. It gets the chance on account of its being stated.

अस्तु तर्हि प्रकृत्यर्थनियमः Let it, then, be *prakṛtyartha-niyama.*

प्रकृत्यर्थनियमेऽन्याभावः

If it is taken as *prakṛtyartha-niyama*, there is no chance for others.

प्रकृत्यर्थनियमे अन्येषां प्रत्ययानामभावः । अनुदात्तङितः तृजादयो न प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

If it is taken as *prakṛtyartha-niyama*, there is no chance for other *pratyayas*. The *pratyayas*, *tṛc* etc., have no chance to come after *anudāttēt* and *ṅidanta*.

नैष दोषः । अनवकाशास्तृजादयः, उच्यन्ते च, ते वचनाद् भविष्यन्ति

This defect does not arise; *tṛjādis* have no room to operate; they are read and they go after them on account of their being read.

सावकाशास्तृजादयः *Tṛjādis* have room to operate.

कोऽवकाशः? Where is the room for them to operate?

परस्मैपदिनोऽवकाशः

They operate where *parasmāipada* terminations operate.

तत्रापि नियमान्न प्राप्नुवन्ति

They do not operate there too on account of *niyama* (that only *parasmāipada* terminations come after them).

तव्यदादयस्तर्हि भावकर्मणोर्नियमान्न प्राप्नुवन्ति

If so, *tavyad* etc. cannot have chance to operate after them in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇiprayōga* on account of *niyama.*

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तव्यदादयोप्यनवकाशाः । ते वचनाद् भविष्यन्ति

Tavyad-ādis too are *anavakāśas*; they operate on account of their being read.

चिण् तर्हि भावकर्मणोर्नियमान्न प्राप्नोति

If so, *ciṇ* has no chance to appear in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇiprayōga* on account of *niyama*.

चिण् वचनाद् भविष्यति

Ciṇ appears on account of its being read.

घङ् तर्हि भावकर्मणोर्नियमान्न प्राप्नोति

If so, *ghañ* has no chance to appear in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇiprayōga* on account of *niyama*.

तत्रापि प्रकृतं कर्मग्रहणमनुवर्तते

The word *karma* is taken even there by *anuvṛtti* from the context.

क्व प्रकृतम् ?

What is that *sūtra* which is found in the context ?

अण्कर्मणि च इति The *sūtra Aṇ karmaṇi ca* (3, 3, 12)

NOTE :—The word *karmaṇi* is taken to the *sūtra Bhāvē* (3, 3, 18) by *anuvṛtti* from the *sūtra Aṇ karmaṇi ca* (3, 3, 12.)

तद्वै तत्रोपपदविशेषणम् । अभिधेयविशेषणेन चेहार्थः । न चान्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति । न खल्वप्यन्यत् प्रकृतम् अनुवर्तनादन्यद् भवति ; न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति

Oh, it is there *upapada-viśēṣaṇam* (i e.) *upapada-viśēṣōpasthāpakam.* It should be *viśēṣaṇa* to the *dhātvartha* here. That which has one purpose there cannot have another purpose here. It is not right to say that which is one thing here becomes a different thing when it goes elsewhere. A lizard moving cannot become a serpent simply because it has gone to another place.

यत्तावदुच्यते नान्यार्थं प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवतीति, अन्यार्थमपि प्रकृतमन्यार्थं भवति - तद्यथा शाल्यर्थं कुल्याः प्रणीयन्ते, ताभ्यश्च पानीयं पीयते, उपस्पृश्यते, शालयश्च भाव्यन्ते ।

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As regards the statement 'that which has one purpose there cannot have another purpose here', (it may be said that) which has one purpose here is found to have another purpose also elsewhere. For instance channels are cut for the sake of paddy; they are used for drinking water and for purification; and the paddy also is got.

यदप्युच्यते 'न खल्वप्यन्यत् प्रकृतमनुवर्तनादन्यद् भवति न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति' इति, भवेद् द्रव्येषु एतदेवं स्यात्; शब्दस्तु खलु येन येन अभिसंबध्यते तस्य तस्य विशेषको भवति ।

As regards the statement 'that which is one thing here does not become a different thing when it goes elsewhere and that a lizard moving cannot become a serpent simply because it has gone to another place,' it may be with reference to objects; but the same *śabda* becomes adjunct in different ways with reference to different kinds of *viśēṣyas.*

शेषवचनं च The need for the mention of *śēṣa* too.

शेषवचनं च कर्तव्यं शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् इति

There is need to mention the word *śēṣāt* in the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam* (1, 3, 78.)

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

शेषनियमार्थम् । प्रकृत्यर्थौ नियतौ, प्रत्यया अनियताः, ते शेषेऽपि प्राप्नुवन्ति । तत्र शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् - शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदमेव नान्यदिति ।

For the sake of *śēṣaniyama*. *Prakṛti* and *artha* are *niyata* and *pratyayas* are *aniyata* and hence they may chance to go in with the *śēṣa* too. Hence mention of the word *śēṣāt* in the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam* is necessary, so that it may enjoin that *parasmāipada* terminations alone will go with them.

कर्तरि चात्मनेपदविषये परस्मैपदप्रतिषेधार्थम्

To prohibit *parasmāipada* terminations from coming in *kartari-prayōga* in place of *ātmanēpada* terminations.

कर्तरि चात्मनेपदविषये परस्मैपदप्रतिषेधार्थं द्वितीयं शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । शेषाच्छेषे इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् - भिद्यते कुसूलः स्वयमेव इति ।

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In order to prohibit *parasmāipada* terminations from appearing in place of *ātmanēpada* terminations in *kartari-prayōga*, the word *śēṣa* has to be read the second time thus:-*śēṣāccēṣē*, so that *parasmāipada* terminations may not appear in the word *bhidyatē* of the sentence *bhidyatē kusūlaḥ svayam ēva* (granary opens itself).

कतरस्मिन् पक्षेऽयं दोषः ? In which *pakṣa* does this defect arise?

प्रकृत्यर्थनियमे When there is *niyama* for *prakṛti* and *artha*.

प्रकृत्यर्थनियमे तावन्न दोषः । प्रकृत्यर्थौ नियतौ, प्रत्यया अनियताः, तत्र नार्थः कर्तृग्रहणेन । कर्तृग्रहणाच्चैष दोषः

This defect does not arise in *prakṛtyartha-niyama-pakṣa*. *Prakṛti* and *artha* are *niyata* and *pratyayas* are *aniyata* and hence no purpose is served by the word *kartari* (in the *sūtra* *Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*). The mischief is due to its mention.

प्रत्ययनियमे तर्ह्ययं दोषः । प्रत्यया नियताः, प्रकृत्यर्थौ अनियतौ, तत्र कर्तृग्रहणं कर्तव्यं भावकर्मणोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् । कर्तृग्रहणाच्चैष दोषः

If so, the defect arises only in *pratyaya-niyama-pakṣa*. *Pratyayas* are *niyata* and *prakṛti* and *artha* are *aniyata* and hence there is the necessity to mention *kartari* to prevent the *parasmāipada* terminations appearing in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇi-prayōga*. The defect mentioned above arises only on the mention of *kartari*.

प्रकृत्यर्थनियमे शेषग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible to omit the word *śēṣāt* in *prakṛtyartha-niyama-pakṣa*.

कथम् ? How?

प्रकृत्यर्थौ नियतौ, प्रत्यया अनियताः । ततो वक्ष्यामि परस्मैपदं भवतीति । तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति - यत्र परस्मैपदं चान्यच्च प्राप्नोति, तत्र परस्मैपदमेव भवतीति

Prakṛti and *artha* are *niyata* and *pratyayas* are *aniyata*. I shall then read *parasmāipadam bhavati*. It is taken as a *niyamavidhi* meaning that *parasmāipada* alone appears where there is chance for *parasmāipada* and one other than *parasmāipada*.

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तर्हि प्रत्ययनियमे द्वितीयं शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, if *pratyaya-niyama-pakṣa* is acceded to, there is need to mention *śēṣa* the second time.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśa* says that, since *Sūtrakāra* has read *śēṣāt* and *kartari*, he favours the *pratyaya-niyama-pakṣa*.

न कर्तव्यम् । योगविभागः करिष्यते 'अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्', ततः 'भावकर्मणोः,' ततः 'कर्तरि' - कर्तरि चात्मनेपदं भवति भावकर्मणोः - ततः 'कर्मव्यतिहारे,' कर्तरीत्येव । भावकर्मणोरिति निवृत्तम्

No, it need not be done. The *sūtra Kartari karmavyatihārē* which follows the *sūtras Anudāttaṅita ātmanēpadam* and *Bhāva-karmaṇōḥ* is split into two *sutras Kartari* and *Karmavyatihārē*, where the *sūtra Kartari* means *kartari ca ātmanēpadam bhavati bhāvakarmaṇōḥ* and then is read *karmavyatihārē* where there is no *anuvṛtti* for *bhāvakarmaṇōḥ*.

यथैवं तर्हि कर्मणि कर्तरि भवति, एवं भावेऽपि कर्तरि प्राप्नोति, एति जीवन्तमानन्दः, नास्य किञ्चिद्रुजति इति ।

If so, just as *ātmanēpada* appears when *karma* is used as *kartā*, so also will it appear when *bhāva* is used as *kartā*, as in *ēti jīvantam ānandaḥ* and *nāsya kiñcid rujati*.

द्वितीयो योगविभागः करिष्यते — 'अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्', ततः 'भावे ततः 'कर्मणि' — 'कर्मणि चात्मनेपदं भवति, ततः 'कर्तरि' – कर्तरि चात्मनेपदं भवति, कर्मणीत्यनुवर्तते, भाव इति निवृत्तम् । ततः कर्मव्यतिहारे, कर्तरीत्येव, कर्मणीति निवृत्तम्

Another *sūtra-split* will be done:—The *sūtra 'Anudāttaṅita ātmanēpadam'* is read; then *'Bhāvē'* is read as a separate *sūtra*; then *'Karmaṇi'* is read as a *sūtra*, meaning that *ātmanēpada* appears in *karmaṇi-prayōga*; then *Kartari* is read where there is *anuvṛtti* for *karmaṇi* and not for *bhāvē* so that it means that *ātmanēpada* appears in *karma-kartari-prayōga*; then is *Karmavyatihārē* read where there is *anuvṛtti* only to *kartari* and not to *karmaṇi*.

एवमपि शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् अनुपराभ्यां कृञ इत्येवमर्थम् । इह मा भूत् अनुक्रियते स्वयमेव, पराक्रियते स्वयमेव

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Even then, there is need for the mention of *śēṣa* for the sake of *Anuparābhyām kṛñaḥ* so that it may not operate in *Anukriyatē svayam ēva* and *Parākriyatē svayam ēva.*

ननु चैतदपि योगविभागादेव सिद्धम्

Oh, this too is achieved by *sūtra-split* itself.

न सिध्यति । अनन्तरा या प्राप्तिः सा योगविभागेन शक्या बाधितुम्

No, it is not achieved. That which has an immediate *prāpti* can be set at naught.

कुत एतत्? How is this arrived at?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति

Vidhi or *pratiṣēdha* refers to what is nearest.

परा प्राप्तिरप्रतिषिद्धा तया प्राप्नोति

The *prāpti* (from the *sūtra Anuparābhyām kṛñaḥ* 1, 3, 79) which is at a distance is not set at naught and hence it will operate through it.

ननु चेयं प्राप्तिः परां प्राप्तिं बाधते

Oh, the *prāpti* here sets at naught the *prāpti* at a distance (through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha*).

नोत्सहते प्रतिषिद्धा सती बाधितुम्

That which is set at naught has no capacity to set another at naught.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśa* reads here:—*Utsargāpavādayōr ēkavākyatayā apavādaviṣayē utsargāprasaktēr iti bhāvaḥ.*

एवं तर्हि कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे इत्यत्र कर्तृग्रहणं प्रत्याख्यायते । तत् प्रकृतमुत्तरत्र अनुवर्तिष्यते - शेषात् कर्तरि कर्तरि इति

If so, the word *kartari* in the *sūtra Kartari karmavyatihārē* is pronounced to be unnecessary. It is taken here, so that the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam* is read thus:—*Śēṣāt kartari kartari parasmāipadam.*

किमर्थमिदं कर्तरि कर्तरि इति? What for is this *kartari kartari*?

कर्तैव यः कर्ता तत्र यथा स्यात् । कर्ता चान्यश्च यः कर्ता तत्र मा भूदिति । ततः अनुपराभ्यां कृञः, कर्तरि कर्तरि इत्येव

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So that it will operate where *kartā* itself is *kartā* and not where both *kartā* and one other than *kartā* are *kartā*. The *sūtra Anuparābhyām kṛñaḥ* will operate only when then *kartā* is *kartā*.

NOTE :—Since the *Sūtrakāra* has read the words *śēṣāt* and *kartari* in the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*, he favours only *pratyaya-niyama-pakṣa*. *Vārttikakāra* pointed out that, in that *pakṣa*, the four *sūtras* commencing with *Vā kyaṣaḥ* should be read before the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*. He then pointed out a defect in the *prakṛtyartha-niyama-pakṣa* and suggested that the word *śēṣē* should be added after *śēṣāt* in the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* favours *prakṛtyartha-niyama-pakṣa*, answers the defects pointed out by the *Vārttikakāra* in that *pakṣa* and further suggests that the words *śēṣāt* and *kartari* are unnecessary in the *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*. He then meets by *yōgavibhāga* the defect in the *pratyaya-niyama-pakṣa* with reference to *karma-kartari-prayōga*.

कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे (1, 3, 14)

Two topics are dealt with here :-(1) Whether the word *karma* may be replaced by *kriyā*. (2) The need for *kartari* in the *sūtra*?

I

क्रियाव्यतिहारे There is need to read *kriyāvyatihārē*.

क्रियाव्यतिहार इति वक्तव्यम् *Kriyāvyatihārē* is to be read.

कर्मव्यतिहार इत्युच्यमाने इहापि प्रसज्येत - देवदत्तस्य धान्यं व्यतिलुनन्ति इति, इह च न स्यात् - व्यतिलुनते, व्यतिपुनत इति

If *karma-vyatihārē* is read, *ātmanēpada* may have chance to appear even in *vyatilunanti* in the sentence *Dēvadattasya dhānyam vyatilunanti* and it will not appear in *vyatilunatē*, *vyatipunatē*.

NOTE :—1. The intention of the *sūtra* is that, if a *dhātu* is used with reference to one who is not enjoined to do the *kriyā* meant by the root in *śāstras*, it takes *ātmanēpada*

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terminations in the active voice. Hence the *Sūtrakāra* has read the word *karma* in the *sūtra* in the sense of *kriyā*. But the *Vārtlikakāra*, fearing that it may denote the technical *karma* (*kartur īpsitatamam karma*) and consequently that the *ātmanēpada* may appear where there is *vinimaya* in the fruit of the action suggests this.

NOTE:—2. *Kāiyaṭa* states that *Dēvadattasvāmikam dhānyam lavanēna svīkurvanti* is the meaning of *Dēvadattasya dhānyam vyatilunanti*.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, has to be so read.

न वक्तव्यम् । क्रियां हि लोके कर्मेत्युपचरन्ति, कां क्रियां करिष्यसि किं कर्म करिष्यसि ? इति

No, it need not be so read. For the people in the world use the word *karma* in the sense of *kriyā* as in, *Kāṁ kriyāṁ kariṣyasi, Kiṁ karma kariṣyasi*.

एवमपि कर्तव्यम् । कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः

Even then it should be so read. When one has one sense *technically* and another *universally*, *kārya* takes place only to the former.

क्रियापि कृत्रिमं कर्म

Even *kriyā* is *kṛtrima-karma* (as in *bhōktum icchati*).

न सिध्यति । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इत्युच्यते । कथं च क्रिया नाम क्रियया ईप्सिततमा स्यात् ?

No, it cannot be so. It is said that *karma* is *kartur īpsitatamam*. How can *kriyā* be *īpsitatamā* through *kriyā*.

क्रियापि क्रिययेप्सिततमा भवति

Kriyā, too, does become *īpsitatamā* through *kriyā*.

कया क्रियया ? By which *kriyā*?

संपश्यतिक्रियया प्रार्थयतिक्रियया अध्यवस्यतिक्रियया वा । इह य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स बुद्ध्या तावत् कञ्चिदर्थं सम्पश्यति, संदृष्टे प्रार्थना, प्रार्थिते अध्यवसायः, अध्यवसाये आरम्भः, आरम्भे निर्वृत्तिः, निर्वृत्तौ फलावाप्तिः । एवं क्रियापि कृत्रिमं कर्म ।

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Through the *kriyā* of comprehension, through the *kriyā* of desire to get the fruit or through the *kriyā* of determination. He who is here a man of foresight first conceives an object in his mind, desires then to get it, determines then to get it, draws a plan in his mind then how to get it, acts then to get it and finally arrives at the fruit. Hence *kriyā* too is *kṛtrima karma*.

एवमप्युभयोः कृत्रिमयोरुभयगतिः प्रसज्येत । तस्मात् क्रियाव्यतिहार इति वक्तव्यम्

If both are, then, *kṛtrima*, there is chance for both to be denoted and hence it is necessary to read *kriyā-vyatihāra*.

न वक्तव्यम् । इह कर्तरि व्यतिहारे इतीयता सिद्धम् । सोऽयम् एवं सिद्धे सति यत् कर्मग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् - क्रियाव्यतिहारे यथा स्यात् कर्मव्यतिहारे मा भूदिति ।

No, it need not be so read. The object will be achieved if the *sūtra* here is simply read *Kartari vyatihārē* without the word *karma*. When it can thus be achieved, he reads the word *karma* and the benefit of its mention is that it suggests that action takes place only when there is *kriyā-vyatihāra* and not *karma-vyatihāra*.

II

अथ कर्तृग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the need for the word *kartari* in the *sūtra ?*

कर्मव्यतिहारादिषु कर्तृग्रहणं भावकर्मनिवृत्त्यर्थम्

Mention of *kartari* in *karmavyatihāra* etc. is to prohibit the same in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇi-prayōga*.

कर्मव्यतिहारादिषु कर्तृग्रहणं क्रियते, भावकर्मणोरनेन आत्मनेपदं मा भूदिति ।

Mention of *kartari* is made with reference to *karma-vyatihāra* etc. so that *ātmanēpada* terminations may not appear in *bhāvēprayōga* and *karmaṇi-prayōga* in such cases by this *sūtra*.

इतरथा हि तत्र प्रतिषेधे भावकर्मणोः प्रतिषेधः

Or at the prohibition (of *ātmanēpada*) in *kartari*, the same will apply to *bhāvē* and *karmaṇi*.

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अक्रियमाणे कर्तृग्रहणे भावकर्मणोरप्यात्मनेपदमनेन प्रसज्येत ।

If *kartari* is not read in the *sūtra*, there is chance for *ātmanē-pada* in *bhāvē* and *karmaṇi* too by this *sūtra*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there?

तत्र प्रतिषेधे भावकर्मणोः प्रतिषेधः - तत्र प्रतिषेधे भावकर्मणोरप्यनेनात्मनेपदस्य प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत - व्यतिगम्यन्ते ग्रामाः, व्यतिहन्यन्ते दस्यव इति

Tatra pratiṣēdhē bhāvakarmaṇōḥ pratiṣēdhaḥ—there is chance for *ātmanēpada-pratiṣēdha* in *bhāvē* and *karmaṇi* in places where there is *pratiṣēdha* for the same in *kartari*, so that, (by the operation of the *sūtra Na gatihiṁsārthēbhyaḥ*) *ātmanēpada* will have no chance in the forms *vyatigamyantē* and *vyatihanyantē* in the sentences *vyatigamyantē grāmāḥ* and *vyatihanyantē dasyavaḥ*.

न वानन्तरस्य प्रतिषेधात्

No, on account of the *pratiṣēdha* to what is immediate.

न वा एष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

अनन्तरस्य प्रतिषेधात् - अनन्तरं यदात्मनेपदविधानं तस्य प्रतिषेधात्

On account of the *pratiṣēdha* to the *ātmanēpada-vidhāna* which is immediate.

कुत एतत् ? What is the authority for this?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति

On the dictum *Anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiṣēdhō vā*.

पूर्वा प्राप्तिरप्रतिषिद्धा तया भविष्यति

The *prāpti* by the previous *sūtra* (*Bhāvakarmaṇōḥ*) is not prohibited and *ātmanēpada* appears here on the strength of that *sūtra*.

ननु चेयं प्राप्तिः पूर्वां प्राप्तिं बाधते

Oh! this sets at naught the previous one.

नोत्सहते प्रतिषिद्धा सती बाधितुम्

That which is set at naught has no capacity to set another at naught.

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उत्तरार्थम् For the sake of that which follows.

उत्तरार्थं तर्हि कर्तृग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

The word *kartari* has, then, to be read so that it may be taken by *anuvṛtti* in that which follows.

न कर्तव्यम् । क्रियते तत्रैव शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् इति

No, it need not be read. It is read in that *sūtra* itself *Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam.*

द्वितीयं कर्तृग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

There is need for the word *kartari* to be read for the second time.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

कर्तैव यः कर्ता तत्र यथा स्यात्, कर्ता चान्यश्च यः कर्ता तत्र मा भूदिति

So that *parasmāipada* may appear only when *kartā* here is the *kartā* (in *kartari-prayōga*) and not when it is *kartā* and *karma* etc. elsewhere (as in *karma-kartari-prayōga* etc.)

न गतिहिंसार्थेभ्यः (1, 3, 15)

प्रतिषेधे हसादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानम् Addition of *hasādis* in the *pratiṣēdha.*

प्रतिषेधे हसादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति

There is need to add *has* etc. to the roots having *gatyartha* and *hiṁsārtha* where *ātmanēpada* terminations are prohibited, to secure the forms *vyatihasanti*, *vyatijalpanti* and *vyatipaṭhanti.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Hasiprakārāṇām śabda-kriyāṇām.*

हरिवह्योरप्रतिषेधः *Non-pratiṣēdha* to the roots *hṛ* and *vaḥ.*

हरिवह्योरप्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् - सम्प्रहरन्ते राजानः, संविवहन्ते गर्गैः इति

Mention should be made that the *pratiṣēdha* does not apply to the roots *hṛ* (*hiṁsārthaka*) and *vaḥ* (*gatyarthaka*), so as to secure the forms *sampraharantē* and *saṁvivahantē* in the sentences *sampraharantē rājānaḥ* and *saṁvivahantē gargāiḥ*.

न वहिर्गत्यर्थः । देशान्तरप्रापणक्रियोऽत्र वहिः

The root *vaḥ* does not mean *to go*, but now it only means *to enable another to reach another place.*

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NOTE :—The two *vārttikas* above supplementing and restricting the application of the *sūtras* of *Ācārya Pāṇini* clearly testify that Sanskrit Language underwent changes in her growth from the time of the *Sūtrakāra* to that of the *Vārttikakāra*. The statement *Na vahir gatyarthaḥ* of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* shows that she underwent further change before the time of *Mahābhāṣyakāra*. It is only with reference to the change in the *form* and the *meaning* of words recorded by *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* that the statement *Yathōttaram munīnām prāmāṇyam* chiefly holds.

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च (1, 3, 16)

परस्परोपपदाच्च Along with the *upapada paraspara* too.

परस्परोपपदाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति, परस्परस्य व्यतिपुनन्ति

The word *paraspara* also has be added in the *sūtra* so as to secure the following expressions:—*Parasparasya vyatilunanti, parasparasya vyatipunanti.*

विपराभ्यां जेः (1, 3, 19)

विपराभ्यामित्युपसर्गग्रहणम्

Reading of *upasarga* as adjunct to *vi* and *parā*.

उपसर्गग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत् - परा जयति सेना इति

There is need to read *upasarga* as adjunct to *vi* and *parā* so that the *pratiṣēdha* may not appear in the expression *parā jayati* of the sentence *parā jayati sēnā*.

NOTE :—*Parā* here means *prakṛṣṭā* and qualifies *sēnā*.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, has to be read.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be read.

यद्यपि तावदयं पराशब्दो दृष्टापचार उपसर्गश्चानुपसर्गश्च, अयं खलु विशब्दोऽदृष्टापचार उपसर्ग एव । तस्यास्य कोऽन्यो द्वितीयः सहायो भवितुमर्हति अन्यदत उपसर्गात् । तद्यथा - अस्य गोर्द्वितीयेनार्थः इति गौरेवोपादीयते, नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति

Even though this word *parā*, going out of the range of *upasarga*, may be used both as *upasarya* and non–*upasarga*, this

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word *vi* does not go out of the range of *upasarga* and is used only as *upasarga*. Which second can be associated with it other than an *upasarga?* For instance, if one says I want one which is second to this cow, only a cow is brought before him and neither a horse nor an ass.

आङो दोऽनास्यविहरणे (1, 3, 20)

आङो दोऽव्यसनक्रियस्य

Ātmanēpada terminations to the root *dā* with *āṅ* in meanings other than *dividing.*

आङो दोऽव्यसनक्रियस्य इति वक्तव्यम् - इहापि यथा स्यात् विपादिकां व्याददाति, कूलं व्याददाति इति

It should be read that *dā* with *āṅ* takes *ātmanēpada* if its meaning is anything other than dividing, so that *parasmāi-pada* terminations may appear in the word *vyādadāti* in the sentences *vipādikām vyādadāti* (he opens the tumor on the foot) and *kūlam vyādadāti* (it breaks open the bank.)

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, has to be read.

न वक्तव्यम् । इह आङो दोऽनास्य इतीयता सिद्धम् । सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यद्विहरणग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् - आस्यविहरणसमानक्रियादपि यथा स्यात् । यथाजातीयका चास्यविहरणक्रिया तथाजातीयकात्रापि

No, it need not be read. The object of the *Sūtrakāraka* will here be achieved by reading the *sūtra Āṇō dōsnāsyē.* When such is the case, he has read the *sūtra* with the word *viharaṇa* added to it. Its *prayōjana* is that the operation of the *sūtra* extends to all meanings similar to *āsyaviharaṇa*, which belong to the same class.

स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्च After that which has for its object its own limb.

स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् - व्याददते पिपीलिकाः पतङ्गस्य मुखम् इति

It must be read that the *pratiṣēdha* holds good only when dividing one's own limb is referred to, so that it may not operate here—*Vyādadatē pipīlikāḥ pataṅgasya mukham.*

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क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च 1, 3, 21)

उपसर्गग्रहणम् (Need) to read *upasarga.*

उपसर्गग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् अनु क्रीडति माणवकम् इति

There is need to read *upasarga-anu*, so that it may not operate here in *Anu krīḍati māṇavakam* (he plays with the pupil).

NOTE :—Here *anu* has *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā*.

समोऽकूजने *Krīḍ* with *sam* in the sense other than *kūjana*.

समोऽकूजन इति वक्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत्, सङ्क्रीडन्ति शकटानि

It must be read that *krīḍ* with *sam* takes *ātmanēpada* terminations only when it has any meaning other than making noise, so that it may not operate here in *saṅkrīḍanti śakaṭāni* (carts rattle).

आगमेः क्षमायाम्

(Addition) of the causal of *gam* with *ā* in the sense of *waiting patiently*.

आगमेः क्षमायामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - माणवक आगमयस्व तावत्

There is need to add to the list the causal of *gam* with *ā* in the sense of waiting patiently, so that *ātmanēpada* may be used here in *Māṇavaka āgamayasva tāvat* (Oh pupil, wait patiently for some time).

शिक्षेर्जिज्ञासायाम् (Addition) of *śikṣ* in the sense of *jijñāsā*.

शिक्षेर्जिज्ञासायामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - विद्यासु शिक्षते, धनुषि शिक्षते ।

Addition of *śikṣ* in the sense of *eagerness to know* should be added so that *ātmanēpada* may be used in *Vidyāsu śikṣatē* and *Dhanuṣi śikṣatē*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Śakiḥ sannantō gṛhyatē iti vidhyartham idam. Nāgēśa* adds here :—*Icchā san-arthaḥ, śaktiḥ prakṛtyarthaḥ, tasya jñānaviṣayatvam ātmanēpadadyōtyam iti.*

किरतेर्हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेषु

Addition of *kṝ* with reference to *pleasure, living* and *preparing a place to remain.*

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किरतेर्हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेषु उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - अपस्किरते वृषो हृष्टः, अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी, अपस्किरते श्वा आश्रयार्थी ।

There is need to add the root *kṝ* when pleasure is the cause and living and making a place to remain are the fruit so that *ātmanēpada* may be used in *Apaskiratē vṛṣō hṛṣṭaḥ* (Bull scrapes with the feet through joy.) *Apaskiratē kukkuṭō bhakṣyārthī* (Cock scrapes with the feet in search of food) and *Apaskiratē śvā āśrayārthī* (Dog scrapes with the feet to prepare a place to remain).

हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये Addition of *hṛ* in the sense of *taking after*.

हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - पैतृकमश्वा अनुहरन्ते, मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते

Addition is to be made of the root *hṛ* when it means *to take after* with reference to the features etc. so that *ātmanēpada* may be used in *Pāitṛkam aśvā anuharantē* (Horses take after their father, their features etc.) and *Mātṛkam gāvōsnuharantē* (Cows take after their mother, their features etc).

आशिषि नाथः (Addition of) *nāth* in the sense of *āśis*.

आशिषि नाथ उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - सर्पिषो नाथते, मधुनो नाथते

The root *nāth* in the sense of *āśis* is to be added to secure *ātmanēpada* in *Sarpiṣō nāthatē* (he wishes that he may be blessed with butter) and *Madhunō nāthatē* (he wishes that he may be blessed with honey).

NOTE:—*Nāgēśa* reads:—*Idam mē bhūyāt iti icchā āśīḥ.*

आङि नुप्रच्छयोः

(Addition) of the roots *nu* and *pracch* preceded by the preposition *āṅ*.

आङि नुप्रच्छयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - आनुते श्रृगालः, आपृच्छते गुरुम् इति

Addition has to be made of the roots *nu* and *pracch* when they are preceded by the preposition *āṅ* to secure *ātmanēpada* in *Ānutē śṛgālaḥ* (fox cries with anxiety) and *Āpṛcchatē gurum* (he takes leave of his teacher).

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शप उपलम्भने Addition of *śap* in the sense of telling.

शप उपलम्भन उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - देवदत्ताय शपते, यज्ञदत्ताय शपते

The root *śap* in the sense of *to tell* should be added to secure *ātmanēpada* in *Dēvadattāya śapatē* (He tells *Dēvadatta*) and *Yajñadattāya śapatē* (He tells *Yajñadatta*).

समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः (1, 3, 22)

आङः स्थः प्रतिज्ञाने

Addition of *sthā* with *āṅ* in the sense of *assertion*.

आङः स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् - अस्तिं सकारमातिष्ठते, आगमौ गुणवृद्धी आतिष्ठते, विकारौ गुणवृद्धी आतिष्ठते

The root *sthā* with *āṅ* in the sense of to assert is to be added to secure *ātmanēpada* in *Astim sakāram ātiṣṭhatē* (He asserts that the root in *asti* is *s*.) *Āgamāu guṇavṛddhī ātiṣṭhatē* (He asserts that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are *āgama*) and *Vikārāu guṇavṛddhī ātiṣṭhatē* (He asserts that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are *vikāra*).

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि 1, 2, 24)

उद ईहायाम् Need to read *Uda īhāyām*.

उद ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् उत्तिष्ठति सेना इति

It should be read that *sthā* with *ut* takes *ātmanēpada* when it means *to be active*, so that it may not appear in the expression *uttiṣṭhati sēnā* (which means the army is collected).

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे (1, 2, 25)

उपाद्देवपूजासङ्गतकरणयोः

Need to read *sthā* with *upa* in the sense of *pūjā* and *saṅgatakaraṇa*.

उपाद्देवपूजासङ्गतकरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् - देवपूजायाम् - आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते, चन्द्रमसमुपतिष्ठते ; सङ्गतकरणे - रथिकादुपतिष्ठते, अश्वारोहानुपतिष्ठते

It must be read that *sthā* with *upa* takes *ātmanēpada* when it means to worship and to meet, as in *Ādityam upatiṣṭhatē* (he worships the sun), *Candramasam upatiṣṭhatē* (he worships the

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moon), *Rathikān upatiṣṭhatē* (he meets the charioteers) and *Aśvārōhān upatiṣṭhatē* (he meets the cavalry).

बहूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।
पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन् यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते ॥

(One at least among many in this army of monkeys has wisdom, since he worships the sun).

मैवं मंस्थाः सचित्तोऽयमेषोऽपि हि यथा वयम् ।
एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कमुपतिष्ठति ॥

(Do not think that he is wise. He is like us. It is his monkeyism that he stands near the sun).

अपर आह Another says :—

उपाद्देवपूजासङ्गतकरणमित्रकरणपथिषु

Need to read that *sthā* with *upa* in the sense of *dēvapūjā*, *saṅgatakaraṇa*, *mitrakaraṇa* and *pathin*.

उपाद्देवपूजासङ्गतकरणमित्रकरणपथिष्विति वक्तव्यम्

It must be read that *sthā* with *upa* takes *ātmanēpada* in the meanings of to worship, to meet, to make friends and to lead to.

देवपूजासङ्गतकरणयोरुदाहृतम्

Examples have been given with reference to *dēvapūjā* and *saṅgatakaraṇa*.

मित्रकरणे – रथिकानुपतिष्ठते ; अश्वारोहानुपतिष्ठते । पथिषु – अयं पन्थाः स्रुघ्नमुपतिष्ठते, अयं पन्थाः साकेतमुपतिष्ठते

With reference to *mitra-karaṇa* :–*rathikān upatiṣṭhatē*, *aśvārōhān upatiṣṭhatē*. With reference to *pathin* : *ayam panthāḥ Srughnam upatiṣṭhatē* (this way leads to *Srughna*); *ayam panthāḥ Sākētam upatiṣṭhatē* (this way leads to *Sākēta*).

वा लिप्सायाम् Need to read *Vā lipsāyām*.

वा लिप्सायामिति वक्तव्यम् । भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते; भिक्षुको ब्राह्मण-कुलमुपतिष्ठति इति वा

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It must be read that *sthā* with *upa* optionally takes *ātmanēpada* terminations in the sense of *to eagerly approach Viz. Bhikṣukaḥ brāhmaṇakulam upatiṣṭhatē; bhikṣukō brāhmaṇakulam upatiṣṭhati.*

उद्विभ्यां तपः (1, 3, 27)

अकर्मकादित्येव, (इह मा भूत्) उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः

The *ātmanēpada* should be used after the root *tap* with *ut* and *vi* only when it is intransitive, so that it may not appear in the sentence *Uttapati suvarṇam suvarṇakāraḥ* (goldsmith heats gold).

स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्च

After it when it takes for its object a limb of the subject.

स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् - उत्तपते पाणी, वितपते पाणी, उत्तपते पृष्ठम्, वितपते पृष्ठम्

It must be said that it takes *ātmanēpada* when it takes for its object the limb of the subject, *Viz. Uttapatē pāṇī* (he warms the hands), *vitapatē pāṇī* (he warms hands); *uttapatē pṛṣṭham* (he warms the back) and *vitapatē pṛṣṭham* (he warms the back)

अथोद्विभ्यामित्यत्र किं प्रत्युदाह्रियते ?

What is the *pratyudāharaṇa* with reference to *tap* with *ut* and *vi* ?

निष्टप्यते इति The word *niṣṭapyatē.*

किं पुनः कारणमात्मनेपदमेवोदाह्रियते, न पुनः परस्मैपदं प्रत्युदाहार्यं स्यात् ?

Why is it that one with *ātmanēpada* terminations alone is given as *pratyudāharaṇa* and not one with *parasmāipada* terminations too ?

तपिरयमकर्मकः । अकर्मकाश्चापि सोपसर्गाः सकर्मका भवन्ति । न चान्तरेण कर्मकर्तारं सकर्मका अकर्मका भवन्ति

This root *tap* is intransitive. The intransitives become transitives when they are preceded by *upasargas*. The transitives never become intransitives unless in *karmakartariprayōga*.

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यदुच्यते न चान्तरेण कर्मकर्तारं सकर्मका अकर्मका भवन्तीति, अन्तरेणापि कर्मकर्तारं सकर्मका अकर्मका भवन्ति । तद्यथा - नदी वहति इत्यकर्मकः, भारं वहति इति सकर्मकः । तस्मात् निष्टपतीति प्रत्युदाहार्यम् ।

With reference to the statement that transitive verbs can become intransitives only in *karma-kartari-prayōga*, it may said that even otherwise they become intransitives. For instance the verb *vahati* is intransitive in the expression *nadī vahati* (river flows) and it is transitive in the expression *bhāram vahati* (he carries the burden.) Hence *niṣṭapati* may be given as a *pratyudāharaṇa*.

आङो यमहनः (1, 3, 28)

अकर्मकाद् इत्येव; (इह मा भूत्) आयच्छति रज्जुं कूपात्, आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन ।

(It must be read that it happens) only when it is intransitive, so that *ātmanēpada* terminations may not appear in *āyacchati rajjum kūpāt* (he draws the rope from the well) and *āhanti vṛṣalam pādēna* (he kicks *vṛṣala* with the foot).

स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्च

After them when they take the limbs of the subject for their object.

स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् - आयच्छते पाणी, आहते उदरम् इति

It must be read that they take *ātmanēpada* terminations only when they have for their object the limb of the subject as in, *Āyacchatē pāṇī* and *āhatē udaram*.

समो गम्यृच्छिभ्याम् (1, 3, 29)

समो गमादिषु विदिप्रच्छिस्वरतीनामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Among *gamādis* preceded by *sam*, there is need for the addition of the roots *vid*, *pracch* and *svṛ*.

समो गमादिषु विदिप्रच्छिस्वरतीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् संवित्ते, सम्पृच्छते, संस्वरते

There is need to add to the list of *gam* preceded by *sam*, the roots *vid*, *pracch* and *svṛ* to secure the forms *saṁvittē*, *sampṛcchatē* and *saṁsvaratē*.

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अर्तिश्रुदृशिभ्यश्च After the roots *ṛ*, *śru* and *dṛś* preceded by *sam.*

अर्तिश्रुदृशिभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् - अर्ति - मा समृत, मा समृषाताम्, मा समृषत ; श्रु - संश्रृणुते ; दृशि - सम्पश्यते

It must be said that the roots *ṛ* (1st conj.), *śru* and *dṛś* too when preceded by *sam* take *ātmanēpada* terminations to secure the forms *Mā samṛta, mā samṛṣātām, mā samṛṣata ; saṁśṛṇutē ; sampaśyatē.*

NOTE:—It is not easy to understand why *Vārttikakāra* has not read this *vārttika* and the previous one as one. Perhaps the latter is the addition made by *Mahābhāṣyakāra.*

उपसर्गादस्यत्यूह्योर्वावचनम्

Mention of option with reference to the roots *as* (4th conj.) and *ūh* when they are preceded by a preposition.

उपसर्गादस्यत्यूह्योर्वेति वक्तव्यम् - निरस्यति, निरस्यते ; समूहति, समूहते

It must be read that the roots *as* (4th conj.) and *ūh* preceded by *upasargas* optionally take *ātmanēpada* terminations as in, *nirasyati, nirasyatē ; samūhati, samūhatē.*

आङ उद्गमने (1, 3, 46)

ज्योतिषामुद्गमने

Only with reference to the *udgamana* of a luminous object.

ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत् - आक्रामति धूमो हर्म्यतलाद् इति

It must be raad that *kram* with *ā* takes *ātmanēpada* terminations only when it refers to the rising up of luminous objects, so that it may not be applied in the sentence *ākrāmati dhūmō harmyatalāt* (smoke rises from the floor of the palace).

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे (1, 3, 48)

व्यक्तवाचामिति किमर्थम् ?

What for is the word *vyaktavācām* in the *sūtra* ?

वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः

In order that *vad* may not take *ātmanēpada* terminations in the sentence *Varatanu, sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ* (Dear Damsel, cocks crow together).

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व्यक्तवाचामिति उच्यमानेप्यत्र प्राप्नोति, एतेऽपि हि व्यक्तवाचः

Even though the word *vyaktavācām* is read in the *sūtra*, *ātmanēpada* terminations may appear in the previous example, since they (cocks) too are *vyaktavāks*.

आतश्च व्यक्तवाचः, कुक्कुटेनोदिते उच्यते कुक्कुटो वदति इति ।

Since, it is said—*kukkuṭō vadati*—when they crow, they are *vyaktavāks*.

NOTE :—*Dhātupāṭha* reads thus :- *vada vyaktāyām vāci*.

एवं तर्हि व्यक्तवाचामित्युच्यते ; सर्व एव हि व्यक्तवाचः ; तत्र प्रकर्षगति-र्विज्ञास्यते - साधीयो ये व्यक्तवाच इति ।

If so, the word *vyaktavācām* is read in the *sūtra* ; all are *vyaktavāks* ; hence the word in the *sūtra* suggests that it refers to those who are the best of *vyaktavāks*.

के च साधीयः ? Who are the best ?

येषां वाचि अकारादयो वर्णा व्यज्यन्ते

In whose speech the letters *akāra* etc. are produced.

न चैतेषां वाचि अकारादयो वर्णा व्यज्यन्ते

The letters *akāra* etc. are not produced in the sound which comes out of their mouth.

एतेषामपि वाचि अकारादयो वर्णा व्यज्यन्ते

The letters *akāra* etc. are produced in their vocal sound also.

आतश्च व्यज्यन्ते, एवं ह्याहुः कुक्कुटाः कुक्कुट् इति

Since people say that cocks crow *kukkuṭ*, they (the letters *akāra* etc.) are produced.

नैवं ते आहुः । अनुकरणमेतत्तेषाम्

They do not pronounce that way. This is only the repetition of their crowing.

अथ वा नैवं विज्ञायते व्यक्ता वाग् येषां त इमे व्यक्तवाच इति

Or the word *vyaktavācaḥ* is not split in this way :—*vyaktā vāg yēṣām tē*.

कथं तर्हि ? In what way then ?

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व्यक्ता वाचि वर्णा येषां त इमे व्यक्तवाच इति

Vyaktavācaḥ is split thus :-*vyaktā vāci varṇāḥ yēṣām tē* (those in whose speech the letters *akāra* etc. are clearly pronounced).

अवाद्ग्रः (1, 3, 51)

अवाद्ग्रो गिरतेः Need to read *Avād giratēḥ*.

अवाद्ग्र इत्यत्र गिरतेरिति वक्तव्यम् । गृणातेर्मा भूत्

The word *giratēḥ* should find a place in the *sūtra* in the place of *graḥ*, so that it may not refer to *gṝ* of the ninth conjugation.

तर्त्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, has to be read.

न वा प्रयोगाभावात्

No, it need not be read, since there is no *prayōga* for it.

न वा वक्तव्यम्, प्रयोगाभावात् अवाद्ग्र इत्युच्यते, न चावपूर्वस्य गृणातेः प्रयोगोऽस्ति

No, it need not be read on account of the absence of *prayōga*. The *sūtra* reads *Avād graḥ* and there is no *prayōga* of the root *gṝ* of the ninth conjugation preceded by *ava*.

समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् (1, 3, 54)

तृतीयायुक्तादिति किमर्थम्?

What for is the word *tṛtīyāyuktāt* in the *sūtra?*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Dhātōs tṛtīyāyōgasambhavāt tadarthēna yōgē bhāvyam ātmanēpadēna. Sa ca sarvatra caratyarthē sambhavati.*

उभौ लोकौ सञ्चरसि इमं चामुं च देवल

(So that it may not appear in the sentence) *ubhāu lōkāu sañcarasi imaṁ cāmuṁ ca Dēvala*, (Oh *Dēvala*, you move about the two worlds, here and there).

तृतीयायुक्तादिति उच्यमानेऽप्यत्र प्राप्नोति, अत्रापि हि तृतीयया योग इति ।

Even though the word *tṛtīyāyuktāt* is read in the *sūtra*, it will appear even here, since the *dhātvartha* is connected with *karaṇa*, the meaning of the third case.

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एवं तर्हि तृतीयायुक्तादित्युच्यते, सर्वत्र च तृतीयया योगः, तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते - साधीयो यत्र तृतीयया योग इति ।

If so, the word *tṛtīyāyuktāt* is read in the *sūtra*, there is *yōga* with *tṛtīyā* everywhere and hence it has to be taken to refer to that where the *yōga* with *tṛtīyā* is of high order.

क्व च साधीयः Where is it of high order?

यत्र तृतीयया योगः श्रूयते

Where the *yōga* with the *tṛtīya* is expressed in words.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे (1, 3, 55)

सा चेत् तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे इत्युच्यते, कथं नाम तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे स्यात्?

It is read in the *sūtra Sā cēt caturthyarthē*. How is it possible for the third case to be used to convey the meaning of the fourth case?

एवं तर्हि अशिष्टव्यवहारे अनेन तृतीया च विधीयत आत्मनेपदं च - दास्या सम्प्रयच्छते, वृषल्या सम्प्रयच्छते । यः शिष्टव्यवहारः - ब्राह्मणीभ्यः सम्प्रयच्छति इत्येव तत्र भवितव्यम् ।

If so, this *sūtra* enjoins *tṛtīyā* and *ātmanēpada* with reference to the *vyavahāra* of *aśiṣṭas*, as in *dāsyā sampratyacchatē* and *vṛṣalyā samprayacchatē*. In the *vyavahāra* of *śiṣṭas*, the *prayōga* should be *brāhmaṇībhyaḥ samprayacchati*.

यद्येवं, नार्थोऽनेन If so, no purpose is served by this *sūtra*.

केनेदानीं तृतीया भविष्यति आत्मनेपदं च?

On what authority, then, can *tṛtīyā* and *ātmanēpada* appear here?

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने इत्येव तृतीया भविष्यति, कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे इत्यात्मनेपदम्

The *sūtra Sahayuktēspradhānē* sanctions the third case and the *sūtra Kartari karmavyatihārē* sanctions *ātmanēpada*.

NOTE:—1. *Kāiyaṭa* gives the meaning of the sentence *dāsyā samprayacchatē* thus:—*Dāsyāi viśrāṇya tayā saha upabhuṅktē*. The *vyatihāra* is explained by *Nāgēśa* thus:—*Dāsyabhilaṣitam dhūrtaḥ karōti, dāsī ca dhūrttābhilaṣitam iti vyatihārasiddhiḥ*.

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NOTE :—2. The use of the third case suffix to give the meaning of the fourth case suffix is a sort of contamination and this was recognised by the *Sūtrakāra*. Another point to be noted here is that Grammar should have for its basis not only the language used by *śiṣṭas* but also by *aśiṣṭas*.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे (1, 3, 56)

इह कस्मान्न भवति स्वं शाटकान्तमुपयच्छति इति ?

How does not *ātmnēpada* termination appear in *upayacchati* in the sentence *Svaṁ śāṭakāntam upayacchati* (he holds the end of his cloth)?

अस्वं यदा स्वं करोति तदा भवितव्यम्

It should appear where one makes a thing not belonging to him his own.

यद्येवं स्वीकरणमिति प्राप्नोति

If so, the word should be *svīkaraṇam*.

विचित्रास्तद्धितवृत्तयः । नातस्तद्धित उत्पद्यते

Strange are the operations of *taddhitas* and hence the *taddhita* suffix is not found here.

नानोर्ज्ञः (1, 3, 58)

अनोर्ज्ञः प्रतिषेधे सकर्मकवचनम्

Need of the mention of *sakarmaka* in the *sūtra Nānōrjñaḥ*.

अनोर्ज्ञः प्रतिषेधे सकर्मकग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् औषधस्यानुजिज्ञासते इति

There is need to mention *sakarmaka* in the *sūtra* which prohibits *ātmanēpada* terminations in the desiderative of *jñā* with *anu*, so that it may not affect the *prayōga āuṣadhasya anujijñāsatē*.

न वाकर्मकस्योत्तरेण विधानात्

No, on account of the *akarmaka* being enjoined with it later on.

न वा कर्तव्यम् It need not be read.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

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अकर्मकस्योत्तरेण विधानात् - अकर्मकाज्ज्ञानातेरुत्तरेण योगेन आत्मनेपदं विधीयते पूर्ववत्सनः इति ।

On account of the *ātmanēpada* terminations being enjoined to the intransitive by a later *sūtra*—The *ātmanēpada* terminations are enjoined to the root *jñā* when it is intransitive by the *sūtra Pūrvavat sanaḥ* (1, 3, 62) which follows.

प्रतिषेधः पूर्वस्य This is a *pratiṣēdha* for what precedes.

पूर्वस्य चायं प्रतिषेधः । स च सकर्मकार्थ आरम्भः

This is a *pratiṣēdha* to what precedes and it is concerned with transitive verb.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते पूर्वस्यायं प्रतिषेध इति ?

How is it understood that this is *pratiṣēdha* to what precedes ?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति

Vidhi or *pratiṣēdha* is concerned with what is immediate.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते सकर्मकार्थ आरम्भ इति

How is it known that it is concerned with transitive verb ?

अकर्मकाज्ज्ञानातेः सन आत्मनेपदवचने प्रयोजनं नास्तीति कृत्वा सकर्मकार्थो विज्ञायते

Taking that no purpose is served by enjoining *ātmanēpada* termination to the desiderasive of *jñā* if it is intransitive, it is taken that it is concerned with the transitive.

शदेः शितः (1, 3, 60)

There are *two* topics under this *sūtra* :—(1) Does *ātmanēpada* terminations appear here or not ? (2) Is there any need to add *aḍvyavāya* in *upasargapūrva-niyama* ?

I

शदेः शितः परस्मैपदाश्रयत्वादात्मनेपदाभावः

No chance for *ātmanēpada* on account of the *śap* of the root *śad* having for its *āśraya*, the *parasmāipada*.

शतेः शितः परस्मैपदाश्रयत्वाद् आत्मनेपदस्याभावः - शीयते शीयेते शीयन्ते

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There is no chance for *ātmanēpada* terminations to appear after the *śap* of the root *śad*, since the former has for its *āśraya* the *parasmāipada* terminations.

किं च भोः शदेः शित् परस्मैपदेष्वित्युच्यते?

Is it, sir, said that *śap* comes after *śad* when *parasmāipada* terminations come after it?

न खलु परस्मैपदेषु इत्युच्यते, परस्मैपदेषु तु विज्ञायते

It is not said, to be certain, that it comes when *parasmāipada* terminations come, but it is so understood.

कथम्? How?

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्, भावकर्मणोरात्मनेपदम् इत्येतौ योगौ उक्त्वा शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदमित्युच्यते । एवं च न परस्मैपदेषूच्यते, परस्मैपदेषु च विज्ञायते

The *sūtra Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam* is read after the *sūtras Anudāttaṅita ātmanēpadam* and *Bhāvakarmaṇōḥ* which enjoin *ātmanēpada*. Hence though it is not stated that *śap* comes when there is *parasmāipada*, it is so taken.

कः पुनरर्हति एतौ योगावुक्त्वा शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदं वक्तुम्?

Who is competent to say that the *sūtra* '*Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*' is read after these two *sūtras*?

किं तर्हि? What is intended then?

अविशेषेण सर्वमात्मनेपदप्रकरणमनुक्रम्य शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदमित्युच्यते

After completely dealing with the whole topic concerning with *ātmanēpada*, the *sūtra* '*Śēṣāt kartari parasmāipadam*' is read.

एवमपि परस्मैपदाश्रयो भवति

Even then it has *parasmāipada* for its *āśraya*.

कथम्? How?

इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः, यदीदं नोच्येत किमिह स्यादिति?

He is to be questioned what termination will appear if this *sūtra* is not read.

परस्मैपदम् इत्याह "*Parasmāipadam*," says he.

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परस्मैपदमिति चेत् परस्मैपदाश्रयो भवति

If it is *parasmāipada*, it has *parasmāipada* for its *āśraya*.

सिद्धं तु लडादीनामात्मनेपदवचनात्

It is accomplished by reading that *laṭ* etc. take *ātmanēpada*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

शदेर्लडादीनात्मनेपदं भवति इति वक्तव्यम्

It must be read that the *laṭ* etc. after *śad* takes *ātmanēpada* terminations.

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते

It is accomplished. The *sūtra*, in that case, is modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तं शदेः शितः परस्मैपदाश्रयत्वादात्मनेपदाभावः इति ।

Oh, it was said that there is no chance for *ātmanēpada* on account of the *śap* of the root *śad* has for its *āśraya*, the *parasmāipada*.

नैष दोषः । शित इति नैषा पञ्चमी

This difficulty does not arise; the word *śitaḥ* is not taken to be the fifth case of *śit*.

का तर्हि? What case is it then?

सम्बन्धषष्ठी - शितो यः शदिः

It is the sixth case denoting relationship thus :—the *śad* of *śap*.

कश्च शितः शदिः What is *śad* with reference to *śap*?

प्रकृतिः It is its *prakṛti* (stem).

शदेः शित्प्रकृतेरिति Of *śad* which is the *prakṛti* of *śap*?

अथ वा आहायं शदेः शितः इति, न च शदिः शिदस्ति, त एवं विज्ञास्यामः शदेः शिद्विषयाद् इति ।

Or he has read the *sūtra* thus :–*Śadēḥ śitaḥ* ; *śad* is not *śit* and hence we interpret the *sūtra* to mean *śadēḥ śid-viṣayāt*.

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अथवा यद्यपि तावद् एतदन्यत्र भवति 'विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान्' इति इहैतन्नास्ति । विकरणो हीहाश्रीयते शितः इति

Or even though the dictum that *niyama* is stronger than *vikaraṇa* holds good elsewhere, it may be taken that it does not hold good here. *Vikaraṇa* is taken, by the mention of *śitaḥ*, to be the *āśraya* of the *ātmanēpada*.

II

उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽड्व्यवाय उपसङ्ख्यानम्

Need to supplement that the *niyama* will take place even though there is interception by *aṭ* between *upasarga* and *dhātu*.

उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽड्व्यवाय उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्, न्यविशत व्यक्रीणीत

There is need to add that the *niyama* will take place even though there is the interception by *aṭ* between *upasarga* and *dhātu*. so as to secure the forms *nyaviśata* and *vyakrīṇīta*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति? Why is it not accomplished?

अटा व्यवहितत्वात् On account of the interception by *aṭ*.

ननु चायमड् धातुभक्तो धातुग्रहणेन ग्रहीष्यते

Oh, this *aṭ*, being a part of *dhātu*, is capable of being taken into consideration on the mention of *dhātu*.

न सिध्यति; अङ्गस्य ह्यड्डुच्यते, विकरणान्तं चाङ्गम् । सोऽसौ सङ्घातभक्तो न शक्यो धातुग्रहणेन ग्रहीतुम् ।

No, it cannot be; for *aṭ* is enjoined to *aṅga* and *aṅga* is that which has *vikaraṇa* at the end. Hence this *aṭ* which is a part of the whole cannot be taken as the part of *dhātu*.

एवं तर्हीदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - अट् क्रियतां विकरण इति

If so, this has to be decided whether *aṭ* should be brought in first or *vikaraṇa*.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? What has to be done here?

परत्वाद् अड़ागमः । नित्या विकरणाः; कृतेऽपि अटि प्राप्नुवन्ति, अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नुवन्ति

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Aḍ-āgama should have the precedence, since it is *para*. *Vikaraṇas* are *nitya*, since they make their appearance whether *aṭ* has made its appearance or not.

अडपि नित्यः ; कृतेष्वपि विकरणेषु प्राप्नोति, अकृतेष्वपि प्राप्नोति

Aṭ, too, is *nitya*, since it makes its appearance whether *vikaraṇas* have made their appearance or not.

अनित्योऽट् । अन्यस्य कृतेषु विकरणेषु प्राप्नोति, अन्यस्य अकृतेषु । शब्दान्तरस्य च प्राप्नुवन्विधिरनित्यो भवति ।

Aṭ is *anitya*. It appears in certain words which have taken *vikaraṇas* and in other words which have not taken *vikaraṇas*. The *vidhi* which operates in dissimilar words is *anitya*.

एवं तर्हि इदमिह संप्रधार्यम्, अट् क्रियतां लादेश इति

If so, it has to be decided here whether *aṭ* should have precedence or *lādēśa*.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम् ? What is to be done here?

परत्वादडागमः । नित्यो लादेशः ; कृतेऽपि अटि प्राप्नोति, अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति

Aḍ-āgama has the precedence, since it is *para*. *Lādēśa* is *nitya*, since it makes its appearance whether *aḍ-āgama* has appeared or not.

नित्यत्वात् लादेशस्य आत्मनेपद एवाडागमो भविष्यति

Since *lādēśa* is *nitya*, the *aḍ-āgama* shall make its appearance after *ātmanēpada* terminations have set in.

नित्यत्वाल्लादेशस्यात्मनेपदेऽडागम इति चेदटोऽपि नित्यनिमित्तत्वादात्मनेपदाभावः ।

If it is said that *aḍāgama* follows the *ātmanēpada* on account of *lādēśa* being *nitya*, there is no chance for *ātmanēpada* to set in on account of *aḍāgama* having for its *nimitta* (*laṅ* etc.) which is *nitya*.

नित्यत्वात् लादेशस्य आत्मनेपदेऽडागम इति चेदेवमुच्यते - अडपि नित्यनिमित्तः । कृतेऽपि लादेशे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अटो नित्यनिमित्तत्वादात्मनेपदस्याभावः ।

If it is said that *aḍ-āgama* sets in after *ātmanēpada* has made its appearance on account of *lādēśa* being *nitya*, it is answered

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thus:—*Aṭ* too is *nityanimitta*. It chances to come whether *lādēśa* has appeared or not. Since *aṭ* is *nityanimitta*, there is no chance for *ātmanēpada* to set in.

तस्मादुपसङ्ख्यानम् - तस्मादुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

Hence is the need for *upasaṅkhyāna*—Therefore there is the need for *upasaṅkhyāna*.

न कर्तव्यम् No, it need not be made.

अन्तरङ्गस्तर्हि लादेशः If so, *lādēśa* is *antaraṅga*.

नैतद्विवदामहे अन्तरङ्गो नान्तरङ्ग इति

We do not quarrel about it whether it is *antaraṅga* or not.

अस्त्वयं नित्यश्चान्तरङ्गश्च । अत्र खलु लादेशे कृते त्रीणि कार्याणि युगपत् प्राप्नुवन्ति - विकरणः, अडागमः, नियम इति । तद्यदि सर्वतो नियमो लभ्येत, कृतं स्यात्; तत्तु न लभ्यम् । अथापि विकरणात्पूर्वमड् इत्यड् लभ्येत, एवमपि कृतं स्यात् । तत्तु न लभ्यम्

Let it be *nitya* and *antaraṅga*. After *lādēśa* here sets in, three factors simultaneously crop up:—*Vikaraṇa*, *aḍāgama* and *niyama*. If *niyama* precedes everywhere the other two, the object is achieved; but it is not the case. If *aḍāgama* precedes *vikaraṇa*, then too the object is achieved, but that, too, is not the case.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आङ्गात् पूर्वं विकरणा एषितव्याः तरतः, तरन्ति इत्येवमर्थम्

For the sake of securing the forms *taratah* and *taranti*, *vikaraṇas* have to be brought in before *aṅga-kārya*.

NOTE:—The *aṅga-kārya* referred to here is *ittva* enjoined in the *sūtra Ṛta id dhātōḥ* (7, 1, 100).

अडाड्भ्यामप्यन्यदाङ्गं पूर्वमेषितव्यम् उपार्च्छत् इत्येवमर्थम् । तत्र हि आटि कृते साट्कस्य ऋच्छिभावः प्राप्नोति ।

Another *aṅga-kārya* is to be resorted to before *aṭ* or *āṭ*, so that the form *upārcchat* can be secured. If *āḍāgama* takes precedence, the *ādēśa ṛcch* will replace the root with *āṭ*.

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NOTE:—The root *ṛ* of the first conjugation takes the form *ṛcch* before the conjugational sign *śap*. If the *āḍāgama* sets in before *ṛ* is replaced by *ṛcch*, *ā+ṛ* will become *ār* and through *ādivadbhāva*, *ār* will be replaced by *ṛcch*, so that we will get the form *ṛcchat* in place of *ārcchat*.

ननु च ऋच्छिभावे कृते शब्दान्तरस्य अकृत आडिति कृत्वा पुनराड् भविष्यति
Oh, after *ṛcch* replaces *ār*, *āṭ* may come in on the basis that this *ṛcch*, being another word, has not taken it.

पुनः ऋच्छिभावः पुनराडिति चक्रकमव्यवस्था प्राप्नोति
It will lead to a vicious circle that *ṛcch* happens after *āṭ* and *āṭ* after *ṛcch* and so on.

नैष दोषः । यत्तावदुच्यते आङ्गात्पूर्वं विकरणा एषितव्याः तरतः तरन्ति इत्येवमर्थमिति, भवेत्सिद्धं यत्र विकरणा नित्या आङ्गमनित्यं तत्राङ्गात्पूर्वं विकरणाः स्युः, यत्र तु खलु उभयं नित्यं परत्वात्तत्राङ्गं तावद् भवति ।
This difficulty does not arise. With reference to the statement firstly made that *vikaraṇas* should come in before *āṅga-kārya* so that the forms *taratah* and *taranti* can be secured, let *vikaraṇas* take precedence over *āṅga-kārya* where the former is *nitya* and the latter is *anitya*. Where both are *nitya*, *āṅga-kārya*, being *para*, will have precedence.

यदप्युच्यते अडाड्भ्यामप्यन्यदाङ्गं पूर्वमेषितव्यम् उपार्च्छत् इत्येवमर्थमिति, अस्त्वत्र आट्, आटि कृते साट्कस्य ऋच्छिभावः । ऋच्छिभावे कृते, शब्दान्तरस्य अकृत आडिति कृत्वा पुनराड् भविष्यति
With reference to the other statement that *āṅga-kārya* should have precedence before *aṭ* or *āṭ* so that the form *upārcchat* may be secured, let there be *āṭ* first and let *ṛcch* replace *ār*. After *ṛcch* has replaced *ār*, *āṭ* may again set in since *ṛcch* has not had it.

ननु चोक्तं, पुनर्ऋच्छिभावः पुनराडिति चक्रकमव्यवस्था प्राप्नोति इति
Oh, it was said that there would be vicious circle by having again the *ādēśa ṛcch* and then *āṭ* and so on.

नैष दोषः There is no harm here.

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चक्रकेष्विष्टतो व्यवस्था

Decision may be made as we desire in vicious circles.

अथवा नेरिति नैषा पञ्चमी

Or the word *nēḥ* (in the *sūtra Nēr viśaḥ*) is not in the fifth case.

क्व तर्हि ? What then ?

विशेषणषष्ठी, नेर्यो विशिः

It is in the sixth case suggesting *viśēṣaṇatva*, so that it means the root *viś* which belongs to *ni*.

कश्च नेर्विशिः ? What is the relationship between *ni* and *viś*.

विशेष्यः *Viś* is *viśēṣya*

व्यवहितश्चापि शक्यते विशेषयितुम्

It is possible to take it as *viśēṣya*, though there is interception between the two.

अथ वा निरपि पदं, विशिरपि पदं, पदविधिश्च समर्थानां, व्यवहितेऽपि सामर्थ्यं भवति

Or, *nir* is a *pada*, and *viś* too is a *pada* and there is *pada-vidhi* between *samarthas* and there is *sāmarthya* between the two even though there is interception.

पूर्ववत्सनः (1, 3, 62)

There are *four* topics dealt with here:—(1) To which is the word *pūrva* related? (2) What is the *lakṣya* which comes under the purview of this *sūtra*? (3) Is it *kāryātidēśa* or *nimittātidēśa* that is resorted to here? (4) Is there need to replace *sanaḥ* in the *sūtra* by *pratyayāt*?

I

किमिदं पूर्वग्रहणं सनपेक्षं - प्राक् सनो येभ्य आत्मनेपदमुक्तं तेभ्यः सन्नन्तेभ्योऽपि भवति इति, आहोस्विद् योगापेक्षं - प्राग् एतस्माद् योगाद् येभ्यो योगेभ्य आत्मनेपदमुक्तं तेभ्यः सन्नन्तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति इति

Is this word *pūrva* related to *san*, so that this *sūtra* may mean that the roots enjoined to take *ātmanēpada* before *san-pratyaya* is added to them take the same even after it is added to them

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or is it related to *sūtra*, so that this *sūtra* may mean that the roots enjoined to take *ātmanēpada* in the *sūtras* preceding this take it after *san-pratyaya* is added to it?

किं चातः ? What is the difference?

यदि सनपेक्षं निमित्तमविशेषितं भवति, पूर्ववत्सनो न ज्ञायते किमन्ताद्भवितव्यम् इति, अथ योगापेक्षम् उत्तरत्र विधिर्न प्रकल्पेत बुभुक्षते उपयुयुक्षते इति
If it is related to *san*, the exterior limit is not expressly stated to enable us to know to which limit *Pūrvavat sanaḥ* is to operate and if it is related to the *sūtra*, this *sūtra* will have no operation with reference to the roots mentioned in the *sūtras* to follow from which the forms *bubhukṣatē* and *upayuyukṣatē* are secured.

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु Let it be as you please.

अस्तु तावत् सनपेक्षम्
Firstly let it be taken to be related to *san*.

ननु चोक्तं निमित्तमविशेषितं भवति इति
Oh, it was said that the exterior limit is not expressly stated.

निमित्तं च विशेषितम् The target is stated.

कथम् ? How?

सनमेवात्र निमित्तत्वेनापेक्षिष्यामहे, पूर्ववत् सनः आत्मनेपदं भवति
We take the *san* itself to be the target, so that the *sūtra* may mean that *ātmanēpada* terminations are used after *san-pratyaya* is added to roots which take them before it is added.

कुतः ? What is the reason?

सनः इति From the word *sanaḥ* (fifth case of *san*).

अथ वा पुनरस्तु योगापेक्षम् Or let it be related to *sūtra*.

ननु चोक्तम् उत्तरत्र विधिर्न प्रकल्पेत इति
Oh, it was said that this *sūtra* will have no operation with reference to the roots mentioned in the *sūtras* to follow.

विधिश्च प्रक्लृप्तः The *sūtra* will have operation there too.

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कथम् ? How ?

उत्तरत्रापि पूर्ववत्सन इत्येवानुवर्तिष्यते

Pūrvavat sanaḥ is taken in the *sūtras* to follow by *anuvṛtti*.

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ?

What is the *lakṣya* which comes under the purview of this *sūtra*?

पूर्ववत्सन इति शदिम्रियत्यर्थम्

The *sūtra Pūrvavat-sanaḥ* is for the sake of *śad* and *mṛ*.

शदिम्रियत्यर्थोऽयमारम्भः शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्याम् आत्मनेपदं मा भूदिति ।

This *sūtra* is intended for the roots *śad* and *mṛ*. so that *ātmanēpada* may not appear after *san-pratyaya* in the roots *śad* and *mṛ*.

इतरथा ह्रि ताभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदप्रतिषेधः

Or, there is need to mention *ātmanēpada-pratiṣēdha* after *san* in those two roots.

इतरथा हि - अनुच्यमानेऽस्मिन् - शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः स्यात्, शिशित्सति मुमूर्षति

If it is not so stated, there is need to prohibit *ātmanēpada* termination from appearing after *san* in the roots *śad* and *ma*, so that the forms *śiśitsati* and *mumūrṣati* may be secured.

कथं पुनः पूर्ववत्सन इत्यनेन शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदस्य प्रतिषेधः शक्यो विज्ञातुम् ?

How is it possible to learn that there is *pratiṣēdha* to the *sannantas* of *śad* and *mṛ* from taking *ātmanēpada* from the *sūtra Pūrvavat sanaḥ* ?

वतिनिर्देशोऽयम् । कामचारश्च वतिनिर्देशे वाक्यशेषं समर्थयितुम्

This has the *pratyaya vat* and it is left to our pleasure to complete the sentence in the way we should like.

तद्यथा - उशीनरवन्मद्रेषु यवाः । सन्ति, न सन्ति इति । मातृवदस्य कलाः । सन्ति, न सन्ति इति । एवमिहापि पूर्ववद्भवति, न भवति इति ।

This may be illustrated as follows :—The sentence–the *yava* grains at *Madra* as at *Uśīnara*—may be completed by *are* or

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are not. The sentence—his features as in his mother,–may be completed by *are* or *are not*. So also *pūrvavad* here may be completed by *bhavati* or *na bhavati.*

न भवति इत्येवं वाक्यशेषं समर्थयिष्यामहे - यथा पूर्वयोर्योगयोः सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदं न भवति, एवमिहापि शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदं न भवति इति ।
We shall complete the sentence by *na bhavati.* The *sūtra* will then mean) that *ātmanēpada* does not appear after *sannanta* of the roots *śad* and *mṛ* as in the previous two *sūtras* :- *Nānōrjñaḥ* (1, 3, 58) and *Pratyāṅbhyām śruvaḥ* (1, 3, 59).

यदि तर्हि शदिम्रियत्यर्थोऽयमारम्भः, विधिर्न प्रकल्पते - आसिसिषते, शिशयिषते
If the *sūtra* is, then, intended for *śad* and *mṛ*, it is not possible to have *ātmanēpada* terminations in places where we want them, as in *āsisiṣatē* and *śiśayiṣatē.*

अथ विध्यर्थः
Suppose we take the *sūtra* enjoining *ātmanēpada* after *sannanta.*

शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदं प्राप्नोति
(If so,) *ātmanēpada* chances to appear after the *san-pratyaya* in the roots *śad* and *mṛ.*

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु Let it be as you please.

अस्तु तावत्प्रतिषेधार्थः
Let it, then, be taken as intending *pratiṣēdha.*

ननु चोक्तं विधिर्न प्रकल्पते इति
Oh, it was said that it cannot, then, be taken as a *vidhi.*

विधिश्च प्रक्लृप्तः *Vidhi*, too, is possible.

कथम्? How?

एतदेव ज्ञापयति सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवतीति यदयं शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यम् आत्मनेपदस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।
The statement that *ātmanēpada* is prohibited after *sannanta* with reference to the roots *śad* and *mṛ*, suggests that *ātmanē-pada* appears after *sannanta* as a general rule.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु विध्यर्थः Or let it be taken as intending *vidhi.*

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ननु चोक्तं शदिम्रियतिभ्यां सन्नन्ताभ्यामात्मनेपदं प्राप्नोति इति ।

Oh, it was said that, in that case, *ātmanēpada* chances to appear after *san* in the roots *śad* and *mṛ*.

नैष दोषः । प्रकृतं सनो न इत्यनुवर्तिष्यते

This difficulty does not arise. The phrase *sanō na* is taken here from the context by *anuvṛtti*.

क्व प्रकृतम् ?

What is the *sūtra* in the context wherefrom there is *anuvṛtti*?

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः, नानोर्ज्ञः

The *sūtra Jñā-śru-smṛ-dṛśām sanaḥ* (1, 3, 57) and *Nānōriñaḥ* (1, 3, 58).

सकर्मकात् सनो न

Ātmanēpada does not appear after *san* of the root *jñā* with *anu* if it is transitive.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः - सनो न

Ātmanēpada does not appear after *san* of the root *śru* preceded by the prepositions *prati* or *ā*.

शदेः शितः - सनो न

Ātmanēpada does not appear after *san* of the root *śad*.

म्रियतेः लुङ्लिङोश्च सनो न इति

Ātmanēpada does not appear after *san* of the root *mṛ*.

इहेदानीं पूर्ववत्सनः इति, सन इत्यनुवर्तते, नेति निवृत्तम् । एवं च कृत्वा सोऽप्यदोषो भवति यदुक्तं निमित्तमविशेषितं भवति इति ।

Here in this *sūtra Pūrvavat sanaḥ*, there is *anuvṛtti* to the word *sanaḥ*, *na* having receded from *anuvṛtti*. In this case the defect — *nimittam aviśēṣitam bhavati* raised above is also answered.

नैव वा पुनरत्र शदिम्रियतिभ्यामात्मनेपदं प्राप्नोति

There is, in that case, no chance for *ātmanēpada* after the *sannanta* of the roots *śad* and *mṛ*.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

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'शदेः शितः' इत्युच्यते, न च शदिरेवात्मनेपदस्य निमित्तम्
The *sūtra* is read *Śadēḥ śitaḥ*. Hence the root *śad* alone is not the *nimitta* of *ātmanēpada*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

शिदपि निमित्तम्. *Śit*, too, is *nimitta*.

अथापि शदिरेव शित्परस्तु निमित्तम्
Or it is the *śad* that is followed by *śit* is *nimitta*.

न चायं सन्परः शित्परो भवति
That which follows *san* here does not follow *śit*.

यत्र तर्हि शिन्नाश्रीयते म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोश्च इति
Then, what about the *sūtra Mriyatēr luṅ-liṅōś ca* where *śit* is not taken into account?

अत्रापि न म्रियतिरेवात्मनेपदस्य निमित्तम्
Even here the root *mṛ* alone is not the *nimitta* of *ātmanēpada*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

लुङ्लिङावपि निमित्तम् *Luṅ* and *liṅ*, too, are *nimitta*.

अथापि म्रियतिरेव लुङ्लिङ्परस्तु निमित्तम्
Or the root *mṛ* followed by *luṅ* and *liṅ* is the *nimitta*.

न चायं सन्परो लुङ्लिङ्परो भवति
That which follows *san* here does not follow *luṅ* or *liṅ*.

III

किं पुनः पूर्वस्य यदात्मनेपददर्शनं तत् सन्नन्तस्यातिदिश्यते?
Is the *ātmanēpada* enjoined to a root extended by analogy to the same when it takes after it the *pratyaya san* too?

एवं भवितुमर्हति. It deserves to be so.

पूर्वस्यात्मनेपददर्शनात्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदभाव इति चेद् गुपादिषु अप्रसिद्धिः
If it is said that the *ātmanēpada* which is enjoined to the root before *san* is added appears after it is added, it is not possible to arrive at the *sannanta* forms of the roots *gup* etc.

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पूर्वस्यात्मनेपददर्शनात् सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवतीति चेद् गुपादिषु अप्रसिद्धिः । गुपादीनां न प्राप्नोति । जुगुप्सते मीमांसते इति । न ह्येतेभ्यः प्राक् सन आत्मनेपदं नापि परस्मैपदं पश्यामः

If it is said that *ātmanēpada* sets in after *san-pratyaya* is added to roots because they took it even before, it is not possible to arrive at the forms derived from the root *gup* etc. It cannot appear after *gup* etc. The forms *jugupsatē* and *mīmāṁsatē* cannot be secured. For we see neither the *ātmanēpada* termination nor the *parasmāipada* termination after them, unless *san* is added to them.

NOTE :—The two *sūtras Gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ san* (3, 1, 5) and *Mān-badha-dān-śānbhyō dīrghaś cābhyāsasya* (3, 1, 6) tell us that the roots *gup* etc. are used only with *san.*

सिद्धं तु पूर्वस्य लिङ्गातिदेशात्

The object is achieved by the extension of the *liṅga* of *ātmanē-pada* found before, through analogy.

सिद्धमेतत् The object is achieved.

कथम् ? How?

पूर्वस्य यदात्मनेपदलिङ्गं तत्सन्नन्तस्याप्यतिदिश्यते

The *ātmanēpada-liṅga* attached to the root is extended to *sannanta* by *atidēśa*.

क्ङ्यादिषु तु लिङ्गप्रतिषेधः

Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *liṅga* in *kṛñ* etc.

क्ङ्यादिषु तु लिङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, अनुचिकीर्षति पराचिकीर्षति इति ।

There is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *liṅga* in *kṛñ* etc. so that the forms *anucikīrṣati* and *parācikīrṣati* can be secured.

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :–*Anuparābhyām kṛñaḥ ityanēna parasmāipadam ēva vidhīyatē, natu ittvam nivartyatē.*

NOTE :—2. It was shown that there is one defect in *kāryātidēśa* and one in *nimittātidēśa*.

अस्तु तर्हि प्राक् सनो येभ्य आत्मनेपदं दृष्टं तेभ्यः सन्नन्तेभ्योऽपि भवतीति

If so, let the *ātmanēpada* suffixed to roots before *san* is added be suffixed after *san* too is added.

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ननु चोक्तं पूर्वस्यात्मनेपददर्शनात्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदभाव इति चेद् गुपादिष्व-प्रसिद्धिरिति ।

Oh, it was said that, if *ātmanēpada* sets in after *san* on account of its having appeared before it was added, the forms derived from the roots *gup* etc. cannot be secured.

नैष दोषः । अनुबन्धकरणसामर्थ्याद्भविष्यति

This difficulty does not arise, The forms are secured on the strength of their being read with *anudāttēt.*

अथ वा अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति । तद्यथा - गोः सक्थनि कर्णे वा कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति ।

Or the *liṅga* found in the *avayava* becomes the distinguishing element of *avayavin.* For instance the mark made in the thigh or the ear of a cow forms the distinguishing mark of the cow.

यद्यवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, जुगुप्सयति मीमांसयति इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If the *liṅga* made in the *avayava* becomes the distinguishing element of the *avayavin,* the *ātmanēpada* terminations may set in where we find the *parasmāipada* terminations, as in *jugupsayati* and *mīmāṁsayati.*

नैष दोषः । अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं कस्य समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति ?

This difficulty does not arise. Which *avayavin* has for its distinguishing element, the *liṅga* made in the *avayava* ?

यं समुदायं योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति

It becomes the distinguishing element of that *avayavin,* from which the *avayava* never separates itself.

सनं च न व्यभिचरति, णिचं च पुनर्व्यभिचरति

It invariably forms a part of *sannanta* alone, but not so with reference to *ṇijanta.*

तद्यथा गोः सक्थनि कर्णे वा कृतं लिङ्गं गोरेव विशेषकं भवति न गोमण्डलस्य ।

This may be illustrated thus :-The mark made in the thigh or the ear of a cow forms the distinguishing mark of the cow and not of the herd.

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IV

प्रत्ययग्रहणं णियगर्थम्

Need to read *pratyaya* for the sake of *ṇi* and *yak*.

प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । पूर्ववत्प्रत्ययादिति वक्तव्यम्

There is need to read *pratyaya*. The *sūtra* is to be read *Pūrvavat pratyayāt*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

णियगर्थम् - णियगन्तादपि यथा स्याद् इति, आकुस्मयते विकुस्मयते हृणीयते महीयते इति

For the sake of *ṇi* and *yak*. So that *ātmanēpada* terminations may appear after *ṇic* and *yak*, as in *ākusmayatē*, *vikusmayatē*, *hṛṇīyatē* and *mahīyatē*.

तत्र को दोषः? What is the defect there?

तत्र हेतुमण्णिचः प्रतिषेधः

Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *hētumaṇ-ṇic* there.

तत्र हेतुमण्णिचः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - आसयति, शाययति इति

There is the need to prohibit *ātmanēpada* in *hētumaṇ-ṇic*, so that the forms *āsayati* and *śāyayati* can be secured.

सूत्रं च भिद्यते The *sūtra* has to be modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

कथमाकुस्मयते विकुस्मयते हृणीयते महीयते इति?

How can the forms *ākusmayatē*, *vikusmayatē*, *hṛṇīyatē* and *mahīyatē* be secured?

अनुबन्धकरणसामर्थ्याद्भविष्यति

They are secured by the *sāmarthya* of the reading of *anubandha*.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads here:—*Ākusmādātmanēpadinaḥ iti gaṇasūtrāt kusma ātmanēpadī. Hṛṇīṅmahīṅau kaṇḍvādī ṅitāu paṭhitāu.*

अथ वा अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति । तद्यथा - गोः सक्थनि कर्णे वा कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति ।

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Or the mark made in the *avayava* forms the distinguishing mark of the *avayavin*. This is illustrated thus:—The mark made in the thigh or the ear of a cow forms its distinguishing mark.

ह्रणीययति महीययति इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

It (*ātmanēpada*) will appear here also, in *hṛṇīyayati* and *mahīyayati*.

अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं कस्य समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति ?

Which *avayavin* has for its distinguishing mark the *liṅga* made in the *avayava*?

यं समुदायं योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति

The *avayavin* from which the *avayava* never gets separated.

यकं च न व्यभिचरति, णिचं तु व्यभिचरति

It does not get separated from the *avayava* with reference to *yak*, but not with reference to *ṇic*.

तद्यथा - गोः सक्थनि कर्णे वा कृतं लिङ्गं गोरेव विशेषकं भवति, न गोमण्डलस्य

It may thus be illustrated:—The mark made in the thigh or the ear of a cow forms the distinguishing mark of the cow, but not of the herd.

आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य (1, 2, 63)

कृञ्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the mention of *kṛñaḥ* here?

इह मा भूत् - ईहामास ईहामासतुः ईहामासुः

So that *ātmanēpada* may not appear in *īhāmāsa*, *īhāmāsatuḥ* and *īhāmāsuḥ*.

कथं चात्रास्तेरनुप्रयोगो भवति?

How is the root *as* taken to be *anuprayōga* by this *sūtra*?

प्रत्याहारग्रहणं हि तत्र विज्ञास्यते

For *kṛñ* is taken to be *pratyāhāra* there.

NOTE:—*Pratyāhāra* from *kṛ* in the *sūtra Abhūtatadbhāvē kṛbhvastiyōgē*...(5, 4, 50) to *ñ* in *kṛñ* in the *sūtra Kṛñō dvitīya*... (5, 4, 58) is meant here.

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कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते तत्र प्रत्याहारग्रहणमिति ?

How is it known that it denotes *pratyāhāra* there?

इह कृञ्ग्रहणात् Since *kṛñ* is read in this *sūtra*.

इह कस्मात्प्रत्याहारग्रहणं न भवति ?

Why should it not be taken to be *pratyāhāra* here?

इहैव कृञ्ग्रहणात् Evidently from the reading of *kṛñ* here.

अथेह कस्मान्न भवति उदुम्भाञ्चकार उदुब्जाञ्चकार ?

Now why is not *ātmanēpada* found here in *udumbhāñcakāra* and *udubjāñcakāra*?

ननु चाम्प्रत्ययवद् इत्युच्यते, न चात्र आम्प्रत्ययादात्मनेपदं पश्यामः

Oh, the expression *āmpratyayavat* is read in the *sūtra* and we do not see *ātmanēpada* after *āmpratyayaprakṛti* (*i e.*) the roots *umbh* and *ubj*.

न ब्रूमोऽनेनेति

We do not say from this (i. e.) that the *āmpratyayaprakṛti* takes *ātmanēpada* after it.

किं तर्हि ? On the strength of what then?

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवतीति

On the strength of the *sūtra Svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* (1, 3, 72).

नैष दोषः । इदं नियमार्थं भविष्यति आम्प्रत्ययवदेवेति

This difficulty does not arise. This *sūtra* is taken to be *niyama* so that that the *ātmanēpada* sets in only when the *āmpratyayaprakṛti* is entitled to take it.

यदि नियमार्थं विधिर्न प्रक्लृप्यते - ईहाञ्चक्रे ऊहाञ्चक्रे इति

If it is taken as *niyamavidhi*, it cannot serve as *apūrva-vidhi* to secure the forms *īhāñcakrē* and *ūhāñcakrē*.

विधिश्च प्रक्लृप्तः Its *apūrva-vidhitva* too is settled.

कथम् ? How?

पूर्ववदिति वर्तते, आम्प्रत्ययवत्पूर्ववच्च इति

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The word *pūrvavat* is taken here by *anuvṛtti*, so that this *sūtra* may be read thus—*Āmpratyayavat pūrvavacca kṛñōsnu-prayōgasya*.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु (1, 3, 64)

स्वराद्युपसृष्टात्

Svarādyupasṛṣṭāt should be read in place of *prōpābhyām*.

स्वराद्युपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् - उद्युङ्क्ते, अनुयुङ्क्ते

The expression *svarādyupasṛṣṭāt* should be read so that we may secure the forms *udyuṅktē* and *anuyuṅktē*.

NOTE:—In the list *prādi*, all the *upasargas* which begin with a vowel should be mentioned here (i.e.) *apa*, *anu*, *ava* etc. In that case *pra* will be left out.

अपर आह Another says.

स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टात्

The expression *Svarādyantōpasṛṣṭāt* should be read.

स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् - प्रयुङ्क्ते, नियुङ्क्ते, विनियुङ्क्ते

The expression *svarādyantōpasṛṣṭāt* should be read (i. e. all which begin in a vowel and which end in a vowel should be taken) so that the forms *prayuṅktē*, *niyuṅktē*, *viniyuṅktē* etc. may be secured.

समः क्ष्णुवः (1, 3, 65)

किमर्थं विदेशस्थस्य ग्रहणं क्रियते, न समो गमादिषु इत्येवोच्येत ?

Why is this read separately and not included in the *sūtra* *Samō gamyṛcchibhyām* (1, 3, 29)?

समः क्ष्णुवः सकर्मकार्थम्

The *sūtra Samaḥ kṣṇuvaḥ* is for the sake of giving transitive sense.

सकर्मकार्थोऽयमारम्भः । अकर्मकादिति तत्रानुवर्तते

This *sūtra* is with reference to the transitive verb. The word *akarmakāt* has *anuvṛtti* there in 1, 3, 29 from 1, 3, 26.

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भुजोऽनवने (1, 3, 66)

अनवनकौटिल्ययोः

Anavana-kāuṭilyayōḥ has to be read in place of *anavanē*.

अनवनकौटिल्ययोरिति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् प्रभुजति वाससी, निभुजति जानुशिरसी इति ।

The expression *anavana-kāutilyayōḥ* has to be read, so that the forms *prabhujati* and *nibhujati* in the sentences *prabhujati vāsasī* and *nibhujati jānuśirasī* may be secured.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It has then to be read.

न वक्तव्यम् । यस्य भुजेरवनमनवनं चार्थस्तस्य ग्रहणम् । न चास्य भुजेरवनमनवनं चार्थः

No, it need not. It is only that root *bhuj* (7th conjugation) which has both *avana* and *anavana* (*abhyavahāra*) for its meaning is taken here. Both *avana* and *anavana* are not the meanings of this *bhuj* (6th conjugation) which has *kāuṭilya* for its meaning.

NOTE :—*Anavanakāutilyayōḥ* is published as a *vārttika* in some editions. *Śrī Guruprasādaśāstri* records that it is not so found in some manuscripts. It seems to me that it is only a *pūrvapakṣa* raised by *Mahābhaṣyakāra* to illustrate the principle *Saṁsargavad viprayōgōspi viśēṣa-smṛti-hētuḥ* noted by *Kāiyaṭa*.

णेरणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत्स कर्तानाध्याने (1, 3, 67)

Three topics are dealt with here:—(1) Is there any need to mention that none other than what is *karma* in *aṇyantaprayōga* can be *karma* in *ṇyantaprayōga*? (2) In this *sūtra* necessary or not? (3) Is there need for prohibiting *ātmanēpada* when *ātman* is the *kartā* in the *ṇyantaprayōga*?

I

णेरात्मनेपदविधानेऽण्यन्तस्य कर्मणस्तत्रोपलब्धिः

With reference to *ātmanēpada-vidhāna* in *ṇyantaprayōga*, it happens only when the *karma* found in *aṇyanta-prayōga* is the *karma* there too.

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णेरात्मनेपदविधानेऽण्यन्तस्य यत्कर्म यदा ण्यन्ते तदेव कर्म भवति तदात्मनेपदं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

With reference to the *ātmanēpada-vidhāna* in *ṇyantaprayōga*, it must be said that *ātmanēpada* sets in only when the *karma* found in *aṇyantaprayōga* is found as such in the *ṇyanta-prayōga*.

इतरथा हि सर्वप्रसङ्गः[1] Or it will chance to appear everywhere.

इतरथा हि सर्वत्र प्रसङ्गः स्यात् । इहापि प्रसज्येत - आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः, आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान्

Or it will chance to appear everywhere. It will appear here also:—*Ārōhanti hastinam hastipakāḥ, ārōhayamāṇō hastī sthalam ārōhayati manuṣyān.*

NOTE:—*Ātmanēpada* will have to be used in place of *ārōhayati*. Here *manuṣyān*, the *karma* found in the *ṇyanta-prayōga* is not found in the *aṇyantaprayōga*.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It has, then, to be stated.

न वक्तव्यम् It need not be stated.

कस्मान्न भवति - आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः, आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् इति?

How is *ātmanēpada* prevented from *ārōhayati* here—*ārōhanti hastinam hastipakāḥ, ārōhayamāṇō hastī sthalam ārōhayati manuṣyān*?

एवं वक्ष्यामि – 'णेः' आत्मनेपदं भवति; ततः 'अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत्' - अण्यन्ते यत्कर्म णौ चेत्, णौ यदि तदेव कर्म भवति; ततः, 'स कर्ता' - कर्ता चेत् स भवति णाविति

I shall explain the *sūtra* thus:—*Ṇēḥ* is taken as one sentence meaning that *ātmanēpada* appears in *ṇyanta-prayōga*. Then *Aṇāu yat karma ṇāu cēt* is taken as the next sentence which means 'if only the *karma* in the *aṇyantaprayōga* is the *karma* in the *ṇyantaprayōga*.' Then *Sa kartā* is taken as the third sentence meaning 'if it becomes the *kartā* in the *ṇyanta-prayōga*.'

1. सर्वत्र प्रसङ्गः is another reading.

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II

यद्येवं कर्मकर्तायं भवति, तत्र कर्मकर्तृत्वासिद्धम्

If so, this becomes *karma-kartā* and it is achieved by the *sūtra* which enjoins *karmakartṛtva* (*Karmavat-karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* 3, 1, 87).

कर्मकर्तृत्वात्सिद्धमिति चेद् यक्चिणोर्निवृत्त्यर्थं वचनम्

If it is achieved by *karmakartṛtva*, the *sūtra* is intended to prohibit *yak* and *ciṇ*.

कर्मकर्तृत्वात्सिद्धमिति चेद् यक्चिणोर्निवृत्त्यर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् । कर्मापदिष्टौ यक्चिणौ मा भूतामिति ।

If it is accomplished by *karmakartṛtva*, there is need for this *sūtra* to prohibit *yak* and *ciṇ* (i.e.) that *yak* and *ciṇ* which have a chance on account of *karmāpadēśa* may be prohibited.

न वा यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधात्

It need not be on account of *yak* and *ciṇ* being prohibited.

न वा एष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधात् । प्रतिषिध्येते अत्र यक्चिणौ - यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे हेतुमण्णिश्रिब्रूञामुपसङ्ख्यानम् इति ।

On account of the prohibition of *yak* and *ciṇ*. *Yak* and *ciṇ* are prohibited in the *vārttika Yakciṇōḥ pratiṣēdhē hētumaṇṇi-śri-brūñām upasaṅkhyānam.*

यस्तर्हि न हेतुमण्णिच् तदर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम्, तस्य कर्मापदिष्टौ यक्चिणौ मा भूतामिति - उत्पुच्छयते पुच्छं स्वयमेव, उदपुपुच्छत पुच्छं स्वयमेव

This has to be said for the sake of that which is not *hētumaṇṇic*, so that *yak* and *ciṇ* may not happen in *karmāpadēśa* with reference to it, as in *utpucchyatē puccham svayam ēva, udapupucchata puccham svayam ēva.*

अत्रापि यथा भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति तथा भवितव्यं प्रतिषेधेन - यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिश्रन्थिग्रन्थिब्रूञात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Even here the *pratiṣēdha* should take the form as is read by *Bhāradvājīyas* :— *Yak-ciṇōḥ pratiṣēdhē ṇi-śranthi-granthi-brūñ-ātmanēpada-akarmakāṇām upasaṅkhyānam.*

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NOTE:—1. The two *vārttikas* commencing with *Yak-ciṇ-pratiṣēdhē* are read under the *sūtra* *Na-duha-snu-namām yak-ciṇāu* (3, 1, 89).

NOTE:—2. The answer to the question that may arise that those two *vārttikas* need not read *ṇi* and this *sūtra* may be read is given in the next sentence.

स चावश्यं प्रतिषेध आश्रयितव्यः

The *pratiṣēdha* in that form is indispensably necessary.

इतरथा हि यत्र नियमस्ततोऽन्यत्र प्रतिषेधः

Or there will be need to mention *pratiṣēdha* in places other than those where there is *niyama*.

अनुच्यमाने ह्येतस्मिन्यत्र नियमस्ततोऽन्यत्र तेन यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः स्यात् - गणयति गणं गोपालकः, गणयति गणः स्वयमेव

If there is no *ṇigrahaṇa* in the *vārttikas*, there will be need to prohibit *yak* and *ciṇ* in places other than those which come under the purview of *niyama*, to secure *Gaṇayati gaṇam gōpālakaḥ* and *gaṇayati gaṇaḥ svayam ēva*.

आत्मनेपदस्य च (Need of *pratiṣēdha*) of *ātmanēpada* too.

आत्मनेपदस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, गणयति गणः स्वयमेव

There is need to mention the *pratiṣēdha* of *ātmanēpada* too to secure the form *gaṇayati* in *Gaṇayati gaṇaḥ svayam ēva*.

आत्मनेपदप्रतिषेधार्थं तु

Let this *sūtra* be, then, read for the sake of *ātmanēpada-pratiṣēdha*.

आत्मनेपदप्रतिषेधार्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् -- गणयति गणः स्वयमेव

This *sūtra* has to be read to prohibit *ātmanēpada* in *Gaṇayati gaṇaḥ svayam ēva*.

इष्यत एवात्रात्मनेपदम् *Ātmanēpadam* is wished for here.

किमिष्यत एव, आहोस्वित् प्राप्नोत्यपि ?

Is it only wished for or does it have a chance to appear ?

इष्यते च प्राप्नोति च

It is both wished for and has a chance to appear.

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कथम् ? How ?

अणाविति कस्येदं णेर्ग्रहणम् ?

Which is referred to by the word *aṇāu* ?

यस्माण्णेः प्राक् कर्म वा कर्ता वा विद्यते

The *ṇi* before whose appearance *karma* or *kartā* was seen.

न चैतस्माण्णेः प्राक्कर्म कर्ता वा विद्यते

Neither *karma* nor *kartā* was seen before this *ṇi* came.

NOTE :—1. The roots of the tenth conjugation have no *prayōga* without *ṇic* and hence it is said that they take no *kartā* nor *karma* before *ṇic* appears after them.

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Nityatvāṇ ṇicaḥ kēvalānām curādīnām prayōgābhāvād aṇāu karmaṇōssambhavād ṇēr iti hētumaṇṇicō grahaṇam.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - अनाध्यान इति वक्ष्यामि इति । इह मा भूत् स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः, स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेवेति

This, then, is the *prayōjana*, that I may mention *anādhyānē*, so that *ātmanēpada* may not appear in *smarayati* in the sentence *Smarayatyēnam vanagulmaḥ svayam ēva*, which follows the sentence *Smarati vanagulmasya kōkilaḥ*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । कर्मापदिष्टा विधयः कर्मस्थभावकानां कर्मस्थक्रियाणां वा भवन्ति । कर्तृस्थभावकश्चायम् ।

This, too, is not the *prayōjana*. The *vidhis* relating to *karma* should refer to the state of existence of *karma* or to the action of *karma*. This is a case referring to the state of existence of *kartā*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदनाध्यान इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येवंजातीयकानामात्मनेपदम् इति

Since *Ācārya* reads the *pratiṣēdha-anādhyānē* when it is otherwise achieved, he suggests that *ātmanēpada* may appear in similar cases.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit from this *jñāpana* ?

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पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम्, दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजा । अत्र आत्मनेपदं सिद्धं भवति
Ātmanēpada may be used in the word *darśayatē* of the sentence *Darśayatē bhṛtyān rājā*, which is related to *Paśyanti bhṛtyā rājānam*.

III

आत्मनः कर्मत्वे प्रतिषेधः
Need for *pratiṣēdha* when *ātman* is *karma*.

आत्मनः कर्मत्वे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । हन्त्यात्मानं, घातयत्यात्मा इति
If *ātman* is *karma*, there is need for *pratiṣēdha* to secure *ghātayati* in *ghātayati ātmā* when *ātman* is the object of *hanti*.

स तर्हि वक्तव्यः It, then, has to be mentioned.

न वा ण्यन्तेऽन्यस्य कर्तृत्वात्
No, it need not be mentioned, since the *kartā* in the *ṇyanta-prayōga* is one other than the *karma* in the *aṇyantaprayōga*.

न वा वक्तव्यः It need not be mentioned.

किं कारणम्? Why?

ण्यन्तेऽन्यस्य कर्तृत्वात् । अन्यदत्राण्यन्ते कर्मान्यो ण्यन्तस्य कर्ता
On account of the *kartā* in *ṇyantaprayōga* being another. One is *karma* in *aṇyantaprayōga* and another is the *kartā* in the *ṇyantaprayōga*.

कथम्? How?

द्वावात्मानौ - अन्तरात्मा शरीरात्मा च
There are two *ātmans*, the *ātman* inside and the physical body.

NOTE:—*Antarātmā* is, according to *Sānkhyas*, the *antaḥkaraṇa* and according to *Nāiyāyikas*, the *jīva*.

अन्तरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येन शरीरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति ; शरीरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येनान्तरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति इति
Antarātmā does that *kriyā* which produces pain and pleasure to the physical body and the physical body does that *kriyā* which produces pain and pleasure to the *antarātman*.

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NOTE :—1. The same topic with reference to two *ātmans* is found in the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra Karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* (3, 1, 87).

NOTE :—2. The expression *Śarīrātmā sukhaduḥkhē anubhavati* is explained by *Kāiyaṭa* thus :—*Śarīrasya acētanatvāt sukhaduḥkhahētubhyām śarīram sambadhyatē iti vyākhyēyam.*

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले (1, 3, 72)

The *prayōjanas* of reading the word *svaritañitaḥ*, the two prepositions *abhi* and *pra* and the expression *kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* are discussed here.

I

स्वरितञित इति किमर्थम्?

What for is the word *svaritañitaḥ* read in the *sūtra*?

याति, वाति, द्राति, प्साति

(So that *ātmanēpada* terminations may not be used after the roots) *yā*, *vā*, *drā* and *psā*.

स्वरितञित इति शक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible to omit the word *svaritañitaḥ* from the *sūtra*.

इह कस्मान्न भवति याति वाति द्राति प्साति इति

How then cannot *ātmanēpada* terminations appear here—after the roots *yā*, *vā*, *drā* and *psā*?

कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले इत्युच्यते । सर्वेषां च कर्त्रभिप्रायं क्रियाफलमस्ति । त एवं विज्ञास्यामः, येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायम् अकर्त्रभिप्रायं च क्रियाफलमस्ति तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति इति । न चैषां कर्त्रभिप्रायं चाकर्त्रभिप्रायं च क्रियाफलमस्ति । तथाजातीयका खल्वाचार्येण स्वरितञितः पठिताः ये उभयवन्तः येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायं च अकर्त्रभिप्रायं च क्रियाफलमस्ति

The expression *kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* is read in the *sūtra*. The fruit of the action intended by the *kartā* is found with reference to every root. Hence we think that, if a root is capable of having reference both to the fruit of the action intended by the *kartā* and to the fruit of the action intended by one other than the *kartā*, it takes *ātmanēpada* terminations when it has reference to the fruit of the action intended by

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the *kartā*. These roots (*yā*, *vā*, *drā* and *psā*) do not have reference to the *kriyāphala* intended both by the *kartā* and *non-kartā*. It is only those roots which have reference to the *kriyāphala* intended both by the *kartā* and *non-kartā* that are read with *svaritēt* and *ñit*.

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Idam ātmanēpadaṃ saṁvidhānavṛttibhyō dhātubhyō bhavati iti kēcid vyācakṣatē....Anyē tvāhuḥ, svārtham yaḥ kriyām ārabhatē tatra ātmanēpadam, parārthārambhē tu parasmāipadam.*

Nāgēśabhaṭṭa explains the same thus :—*Sarvāvayavaka-kriyāpravṛttyanukūlavyāpāra ēva saṁvidhānaśabdavācyaḥ* ... *Svārthatva-parārthatva-ubhayavivakṣāvatām dhātūnām svārthatvavivakṣāyām taṅānāu iti sūtrārthaḥ.*

NOTE :—2. From this it is evident that, according to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, *svaritañitaḥ* in the *sūtra* is unnecessary.

II

अथ अभिप्रग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for, then, are read *abhi* and *pra* ?

स्वरितञितः कर्त्राये क्रियाफले इतीयत्युच्यमाने यमेव सम्प्रत्येति क्रियाफलं तत्रैव स्यात्, लुञ् - लुनीते, पूञ् - पुनीते ; इह न स्यात् यज् - यजते, वप् - वपते । अभिप्रग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति । अभिराभिमुख्ये वर्तते, प्र आदिकर्मणि । तेन यं चाभिप्रैति यं चाभिप्रैष्यति यं चाभिप्रागात् तत्र सर्वत्राभिमुख्यमात्रे सिद्धं भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read without *abhi* and *pra* thus—*Svaritañitaḥ kartrāyē kriyāphalē* – *ātmanēpada* will appear only in those cases where the fruit of the action immediately goes to *kartā* as in *lunītē* (from the root *lūñ*) and *punītē* (from the root *pūñ*) and not in *yajatē* (from the root *yaj*) and in *vapatē* (from the root *vap*). If, on the other hand, *abhi* and *pra* are read, there will be no difficulty. *Abhi* suggests *ābhimukhya* (the state of pointing towards) and *pra* suggests *ādikarman* (the act commencing with). Then *ātmanēpada* will have chance to appear everywhere whether the fruit of the action immediately goes to the *kartā*, will go to the *kartā* in future or went to the *kartā* in the past.

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III

कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले इति किमर्थम्?

What for is read *kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē*?

पचन्ति भक्तकराः, कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः, यजन्ति याजकाः

Otherwise *ātmanēpada* will appear in forms *pacanti*, *kurvanti* and *yajanti* in the sentences *pacanti bhaktakarāḥ* (cooks cook) *kurvanti karmakarāḥ* (servants do the work) and *yajanti yājakāḥ* (*ṛtviks* perform the sacrifice).

कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले इत्युच्यमानेऽप्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अत्रापि हि क्रियाफलं कर्तारमभिप्रैति - याजका यजन्ति गा लप्स्यामह इति, कर्मकराः कुर्वन्ति पादिकमहर्लप्स्यामह इति ।

It chances to come here even if the expression *kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* is read. The fruit of the action reaches the *kartā* even here. *Ṛtviks* perform the sacrifice that they will get cows and servants do their work that they will get 25 per cent of the day's profit.

एवं तर्हि कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले इत्युच्यते, सर्वत्र च कर्तारं क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति । तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते - साधीयो यत्र कर्तारं क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति । न चान्तरेण यजिं यजिफलं वपिं वा वपिफलं लभन्ते । याजकाः पुनः अन्तरेणापि यजिं गा लभन्ते भृतकाश्च पादिकम् इति

When such is the case that the fruit of the action goes everywhere to the *kartā*, the expression *kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* is read. It is given the special sense—where the fruit of the action goes to the *kartā* only through that action and through nothing else. One does not get the fruit of *yajana* (the *apūrva* which leads him to Heaven after death) without *yajana* nor does one get the fruit of his ceremonial shave except from the shave. But *ṛtviks* get cows even without *yājana* and the wage-earners money even without doing the particular work.

NOTE:—The fruit of *yajana* and *vapana* is *apūrva* and they have no *dṛṣṭaphala*.

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शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् (1, 3, 78)

Two topics, one with reference to *śēṣāt* and another with reference to *kartari*, are dealt with here.

I—*a*

शेषवचनं पञ्चम्या चेदर्थे प्रतिषेधः

If the word *śēṣa* is followed by the fifth case-suffix, need for the *pratiṣēdha* (of *parasmāipada*) in *karmakartṛ*.

शेषवचनं पञ्चम्या चेदर्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - भिद्यते कुसूलः स्वयमेव, छिद्यते रज्जुः स्वयमेव ।

If the word *śēṣa* is used in the fifth case, there is need to prohibit *parasmāipada* in *karmakartṛprayōga* as in the forms *bhidya'ē* and *chidyatē* in the sentences *Bhidyatē kusūlaḥ svayam ēva* (granary breaks itself open) and *Chidyatē rajjuḥ svayam ēva* (rope snaps itself).

एवं तर्हि शेषे इति वक्ष्यामि

If so, I shall read *śēṣē* in place of *śēṣāt*.

सप्तम्या चेत्प्रकृतेः

(*Pratiṣēdha*) of *prakṛti* if it is in the seventh case.

सप्तम्या चेत् प्रकृतेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - आस्ते शेते, च्यवन्ते, प्लवन्ते

If *śēṣa* is read in the seventh case, there is need to prohibit roots (which are *anudāttēt* and *ṅit*) from taking *parasmāipada* to secure the forms *āstē*, *śētē*, *cyavantē* and *plavantē*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Pratyayaniyamē prakṛtīnām aniyamād anudāttaṅidbhyaḥ parasmāipadam api prāpnōti.*

सिद्धं तूभयनिर्देशात्

Accomplishment of the object through the mention of both.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

उभयनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः । शेषात् शेषे इति वक्तव्यम्

Mention of both should be made. Both *śēṣāt* and *śēṣē* have to be read.

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II

कर्तृग्रहणमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्? What for is *kartari* read?

कर्तृग्रहणमनुपराद्यर्थम् Reading of *kartari* is for *kṛ* with *anu*, *parā* etc.

अनुपराद्यर्थमेतत् स्यात् - इह मा भूत् अनुक्रियते स्वयमेव, पराक्रियते स्वयमेव इति

This is intended with reference to *kṛ* with *anu*, *parā* etc., so that *parasmāipada* may not appear in *anukriyatē svayam ēva* and *parākriyatē svayam ēva*.

I—*b*

1 सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते ।

The object is accomplished ; but the *sūtra* has to be modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तं शेषवचनं पञ्चम्या चेदर्थे प्रतिषेधः इति

Oh, it was said that, if *śēṣāt* is read, there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* in *karmakartariprayōga*.

नैष दोषः । कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे इत्यत्र कर्तृग्रहणं प्रत्याख्यायते, तत्प्रकृतमिहानुवर्तिष्यते शेषात् कर्तरि कर्तरि इति ।

This defect can be avoided. The word *kartari* in the *sūtra Kartari karmavyatihārē* is found unnecessary and it is taken here by *anuvṛtti*, so that this *sūtra* may be read *Śeṣāt kartari kartari parasmāipadam*.

किमिदं कर्तरि कर्तरि इति

What is meant by *kartari kartari* ?

कर्तैव यः कर्ता तत्र यथा यात्, कर्ता चान्यश्च यः कर्ता तत्र मा भूद् इति

So that it (*parasmāipada*) may appear only when *kartā* is *kartā* and not where both *kartā* and something else are *kartā*.

अनुपराभ्यां कृञः (1, 3, 79)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? What is the need for this *sūtra* ?

परस्मैपदप्रतिषेधात् कृञादिषु विधानम्

Pratiprasava of *parasmāipada* with reference to *kṛñ* on account of *parasmāipada-pratiṣēdha*.

1. It is preferable to have the text from *sidhyati* to the end before *kartṛgrahaṇam idānīm kimartham syāt*.

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परस्मैपदप्रतिषेधात् कृञादिषु परस्मैपदं विधीयते । प्रतिषिध्यते तत्र परस्मैपदं स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति इति ।

Parasmāipada is enjoined with reference to *kṛñ* etc. since it was prohibited. It is prohibited by the *sūtra Svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* which enjoins *ātmanēpada*.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana?*

किं तर्हीति? What then?

तत्रात्मनेपदप्रतिषेधोऽप्रतिषिद्धत्वात्

Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *ātmanēpada* there, on account of its not being prohibited.

तत्र आत्मनेपदस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

There is need to prohibit *ātmanēpada* there.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अप्रतिषिद्धत्वात्; न हि आत्मनेपदं प्रतिषिध्यते

Since it is not prohibited. For *ātmanēpada* is not prohibited.

किं तर्हि? What then is done?

परस्मैपदमनेन विधीयते *Parasmāipada* is enjoined by this.

न वा द्युतादिभ्यो वावचनात्

No, on account of the mention of *vā* with reference to *dyutādi.*

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

द्युतादिभ्यो वावचनात् । यदयं द्युतादिभ्यो वावचनं करोति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न परस्मैपदविषये आत्मनेपदं भवतीति ।

On account of the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* with reference to *dyutādi. Ācārya* suggests that *ātmanēpada* does not set in where *parasmāipada* comes, since he makes the *anuvṛtti* of *vāvacana* in *Dyudbhyō luṅi.* (1, 3, 91)

NOTE:—*Vāvacanāt* in the *bhāṣya* means on account of the *anuvṛtti* of the word *vibhāṣā* (from the *sūtra Vibkāṣākarmakāt* 1-3-85).

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आत्मनेपदनियमे वा प्रतिषेधः

Or *pratiṣēdha* near *ātmanēpadaniyama.*

आत्मनेपदनियमे वा प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले, आत्मनेपदं भवति, कर्तर्यनुपराभ्यां कृञो न इति

Or the *pratiṣēdha* should have been mentioned near *ātmanēpadaniyama*, (i.e.) near the *sūtra Anudāttañita ātmanēpadam* (1, 3, 12). The *sūtra Svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* should be read after it and after it *Kartaryanuparābhyām kṛñō na* should have been read.

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते ।

The object is accomplished. But the *sūtra* is modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तं तत्रात्मनेपदप्रतिषेधोऽप्रतिषिद्धत्वादिति

Oh, it was said that there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *ātmanēpada* on account of its being *apratiṣiddha.*

परिहृतमेतद् न वा द्युतादिभ्यो वावचनादिति

It was answered thus :—*Na vā dyutādibhyō vāvacanāt.*

अथवा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः - स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवतीति परस्मैपदं कस्मान्न भवति ।

Or he is to be questioned thus :—Why does not *parasmāipada* appear where *ātmanēpada* appears on the strength of the *sūtra Svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāyē kriyāphalē* ?

आत्मनेपदेन बाध्यते It is set at naught by *ātmanēpada.*

यथैव तर्ह्यात्मनेपदेन परस्मैपदं बाध्यते, एवं परस्मैपदेनापि आत्मनेपदं बाधिष्यते

Just as *parasmāipada* is set at naught by *ātmanēpada*, so also will *ātmanēpada* be set at naught by *parasmāipada.*

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रद्रुस्रुभ्यो णेः (1, 3, 86)

बुधादिषु येऽकर्मकास्तेषां ग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of intransitives among *budhādis* ?

सकर्मकार्थमचित्तवत्कर्तृकार्थं वा

For the sake of *sakarmakas* or *acittavat-kartṛkas.*

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NOTE:—*Acittavatkartṛka* is that which has for its *kartā* one not endowed with reason.

अणावकर्मकाच्चित्तवत्कर्तृकात् (1, 3, 88)

अणावकर्मकादिति चुरादिणिचो ण्यन्तात्परस्मैपदम्

Mention of *parasmāipada* after the *ṇyanta* of *curādi-ṇic* with reference to the *sūtra Aṇāvakarmakāt*...

अणावकर्मकादिति चुरादिणिचो ण्यन्तात्परस्मैपदं वक्तव्यम् । इहापि यथा स्यात्, चेतयमानं प्रयोजयति - चेतयति

Mention of *parasmāipada* after *ṇyanta* of *curādiṇic* after the *sūtra Aṇāvakarmakāt*..., is necessary so that the form *cētayati* in the sense of *cētayamānam prayōjayati* may be secured.

यदि तर्हि अत्रापीष्यते अणिग्रहणमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्?

If it is desired even here, what is the need for the word *aṇāu* in the *sūtra*?

अकर्मकग्रहणमण्यन्ताविशेषणं यथा विज्ञायेत

So that the word *akarmaka* may be taken as the *viśēṣaṇa* of *aṇyanta*.

अथाक्रियमाणेऽणिग्रहणे कस्याकर्मकग्रहणं विशेषणं स्यात्?

To whom will the word *akarmaka* be the *viśēṣaṇa*, if *aṇāu* is not read?

णेरिति वर्तते, ण्यन्तविशेषणं स्यात्

There is the *anuvṛtti* for the word *ṇēḥ* (from the *sūtra Budha*...) and it will become the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ṇēḥ*.

तत्र को दोषः What will be the harm then?

इहैव स्यात् चेतयमानं प्रयोजयति - चेतयति । इह न स्यात् आसयति शाययति

Parasmāipada will appear only in *cētayati* in the sense of *cētayamānam prayōjayati* and it will not appear in *āsayati* and *śāyayati*.

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सिद्धं त्वतस्मिन् णाविति वचनात्

It is accomplished by reading *atasmin ṇāu.*

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

अतस्मिन् णौ योऽकर्मकस्तत्रेति वक्तव्यम्

It must be mentioned that it comes with reference to that which is *akarmaka* in *non-hētumaṇ-ṇic.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :— *Tacchabdēna hētumaṇ-ṇij nirdiśyatē.*

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते ।

The object is accomplished. But the *sūtra* has to be modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् अणावकर्मकादिति चुरादिणिचो ण्यन्तात् परस्मैपदवचनमिति

Oh, it was said that mention of *parasmāipada* is necessary after the *ṇyanta* of *curādi-ṇic* with reference to the *sūtra Aṇāvakarmakāt...*

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

अणाविति कस्येदं णेर्ग्रहणम्? To which *ṇi* does *ṇi* in *aṇēḥ* refer?

यस्माण्णेः प्राक् कर्म कर्ता वा विद्यते

To that *ṇi*, before which there was *karma* or *kartā.*

न चैतस्माण्णेः प्राक् कर्म कर्ता वा विद्यते

Karma or *kartā* did not exist before this *ṇi* came.

न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहरुचिनृतिवदवसः (1, 3, 89)

पादिषु धेट उपसङ्ख्यानम् Addition of *dhēṭ* with reference to *pādis.*

पादिषु धेट उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - धापयेते शिशुमेकं समीची

Addition of the root *dhēṭ* to the *pādi* list is necessary, so that the form *dhāpayētē* may be secured in the sentence *dhāpayētē śiśum ēkam samīcī* (two does allow one young to suck).

NOTE :—The word *samīcī* should be taken as the nominanative dual.

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लुटि च क्लृपः (1, 3, 93)

किमर्थश्चकारः ? What for is the word *ca?*

स्यसनोरित्येतदनुकृष्यते

Only will then *syasanōḥ* be taken here by *anuvṛtti.*

यदि तर्हि नान्तरेण चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति 'द्युद्भ्यो लुङि' इत्यत्रापि चकारः कर्तव्यः विभाषेत्यनुकर्षणार्थः । अथ इदानीमन्तरेणापि चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति इहापि नार्थश्चकारेण । एवं सर्वे चकाराः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते ।

If there will be no *anuvṛtti* without the word *ca*, there will be no *anuvṛtti* to the word *vibhāṣā* in the *sūtra Dyudbhyō luṅi* and hence *cakāra* has to be read there. If *anuvṛtti* is resorted to there even without *cakāra*, there will be *anuvṛtti* here too without it. All *cakāras* of this kind are thus set at naught.

FOURTEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

(First *adhyāya*, third *pāda* ends)

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OPINIONS

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALIS MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Volume I

SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR,
Bhaktivilas, Trivandrum,
9th November, 1944.

I have perused with intense interest your Lectures on Patanjali's Mahabhashya. The developments of Sanskrit Grammar, not only as a branch of the Science of words and sounds, but of the philosophical concepts underlying all languages, have attracted my attention during many years. I am very grateful to you for the scholarly and at the same time lucid exposition of the basic ideas of the Mahabhashya which will be of special value to persons like myself who have no professional competence adequately to explore the originals dealing with such a complicated subject.

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Allahabad University, Allahabad,
17th November, 1944.

I congratulate you upon your industry and scientific manner of scholarship exhibited in this publication.

M. HIRIYANNA,
Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, Mysore,
Lakshmipuram, Mysore City, 18—11—1944.

I have read several portions of it. The Preface is quite interesting and informative; and your exposition of the first three *āhnikas*, the portion included in the present volume, is full and illuminating. The book will be of great value to students of higher *Vyākaraṇa* and I trust that it will help to extend the study of this subject in our Universities.

PAREEKSHIT TAMBURAN,
Prince of Cochin,
Palace No. 16, Tripunittura, 25—11—1944.

Dear Vice-Chancellor,

... May I request you to be good enough to convey my high appreciation of this interesting work (Patanjali's Mahabhashya) to the author, Vidyaratna Professor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RAMA VARMA.

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VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA,
Harishchandrapur, Malda,
Bengal, 8—1—1945.

.... Undoubtedly it will prove very helpful to those for whom it is meant. University students with your book in their hands will certainly bless you very much. Let me hope that it will soon be completed.

DR. S. MUKHERJEE, M.A.

Docteur-es Lettres (Paris) Vedantatirtha Sastri etc. Mayurbhanj, Professor of Sanskrit and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Benares, Hindu University.

Benares, 12th April, 1945.

... The text of the Mahābhāṣya is quoted in original and explained in English. In the course of the explanation all matters and discussions which arise out of the text have been considered and lucidly dealt with, the opinions of Kāiyaṭa and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa being copiously drawn upon for the purpose.

A knowledge of the Mahābhāṣya is like the acquisition of a kingdom and the learned author has certainly made the road very smooth. The results of researches on the historical data concerning Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali have been embodied in an excellent introduction which students will find very useful. If the learned author pushes his lectures on the conclusion of the Mahābhāṣya, he will have done a great service to Sanskrit scholarship. His grasp of the subject is masterly, his style is good and his explanations lucid. ...

The Visva-Bharati, Shantiniketan=May - July, 1945.

The book under review is the mellowed fruit of laborious research and scholarly analysis by a Professor who has had evidently the advantage of drawing upon the accumulated research work of scholars, Eastern as well as Western. In achieving his end the author has furnished in the book unmistakable evidences of his independent critical understanding, avoiding alike undue submissiveness to the verdict of accredited Western authorities and unhealthy conservatism in sticking to the good old indigenous tradition. In the face of conflicting interpretations, our author has maintained his own ground in and through his incisive analysis and exposition. ...

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Adayar Library Bulletin—1945.

... The author is a teacher of many years' experience and a great authority both in Sanskrit and Tamil. His contributions to scholarship through his many publications have established a name for him among Orientalists. ... The present volume... is meant primarily for the use of advanced students of Universities. Yet it has a far wider appeal... Through this work Prof. Subrahmanya Sastri has opened up the gates of a vast region to the modern world that has till now been denied access to it through the difficulty of the language... We heartily congratulale the Professor on his accomplishing this great task; we welcome this publication and we eagerly await the completion of the work.

The Hindu, 4—2—1945.

... The text of the bhashya with the lectures based on its commentories and super-commentories will be found very useful by all types of students of Vyakarana.

Volume II

JULES BLOCH,
Retd. Professor, College-de-France, 15—3—53.

Dear Dr. Subrahmania Sastri,

May I express you the pleasure with which I found just yesterday your lectures on Mahābhāṣya (II) waiting for me... It is indeed a very good boon you are conferring on younger scholars in pursuing this detailed translation of the Mahābhāṣya, this too a much wanted help... Now you have had the patience and courage... to start that tremendous task; let me congratulate you and pray that you may go forward in good health and spirits till the end...

The Hindu, 10—1—1954.

... Dr. Sastri's rendering in this volume is simple and direct... All modern students of advanced grammar in Sanskrit particularly the Mahabhashya will no doubt find in this publication valuable guidance and help to understand the most difficult text of Mahabhashya...

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Volume III

The Hindu, 2—10—1955.

... To translate the Mahabhashya is not an easy task. It requires, in addition to sound scholarship, a good deal of courage, patience and perseverance. Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri is a versatile scholar and possesses the requisite qualities mentioned above... He. deserves to be congratulated by all lovers of Sanskrit especially of sastra on this stupendous work...

Rev. Hideo Kimura,
Professor of Indic Studies,
Ryukaku University,
Kyoto, Japan.

Nizam's Guest House,
Poona 4,
15—2—56.

Dear Sir.

I have been interested especially in your work 'Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya', the three volumes of which I have got through 'Poona Oriental Book House'. Therefore I am very eager for the completion of this your valuable and exhaustive publication early.

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BOOKS BY DR. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI

1—2 Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya Vols. I and II (āhnikas 1—6).
3—4 Do. Vol. III (āhnikas 7—9), Vol. IV (āhnikas 10—14).
5-12 Do. Vols. V to XII (āhnikas 15 to 85), (to go to press)
13 Mahābhāṣyaprakāśikā—āhnikatrayam (Do.).
14 History of Sanskrit Literature in Tamil.
15 History of Sanskrit Language in Tamil.
16 *Tonivilakkū* (Tamil rendering of Dhvanyālōka).
17 A study of Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava Canto I.
18 Knots in Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa (in press).
19 Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language.
20 *Tolkāppiyam-Eḻuttatikāram*—with Tamil Commentary.
21 Do. with English Commentary.
22 *Tolkāppiyaccollatikārakkurippu.*
23 *Tolkāppiyam—Collatikāram*—with English Commentary.
24—26 Do. *Poruḷatikāram*—with English Commentary (3 parts).
27 *Tirukkuraḷ-Arattuppāl* with *Bālar-urai.*
28 Do. *Poruṭpal* and *Kāmattuppāl.* Do.
29 *Tamiḻmoḻinūl.*
30 Historical Tamil Reader.
31 An Enquiry into the Relationship of Sanskrit and Tamil.
32 History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their relation to Grammatical literature in Sanskrit.
33 *Śaṅganūlhaḷum Vaidikamārggamum.*
34 *Vāsukivaḷḷuvam* (A Drama in Tamil), (Adaptation of *Tirukkuraḷ-Kāmattuppāl*).
35. Synopsis of the Indian Systems of Philosophy (to go to press).

Nos. 1, 2, 14, 15, 18, 23, 30 are Annamalai University Publications.
No. 31 is Travancore University Publication.
Nos. 21, 24, 25, 26, 32 Published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
Nos. 16, 20, 27, 29, 33 Published under the patronage of the Maṭhādhipatis of Tiruppanandal Mutt.
No. 28, Published by the Kāmakōṭi Publishing House, Madras.
No. 34, Published in the Journal—Tiruvalluvar, Tiruchirapalli.

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